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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2240



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HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA-DURAY INTERVIEWED

Post 1945 Backdrop

Vienna GEGENSTIMMEN in German No 12/4, Summer 83 p 32

[Text] Officially 560,000 individuals of Hungarian nationality are living today in the Slovakian Socialist Republic. Their compact area of settlement North of the Danube and of the Matra Mountains landed in the newly established Czechoslovakia not of their own free will but rather through the 1918 Treaty of Versailles dictated by imperialism.

Nevertheless, for the Hungarian democrats of the original highlands of Hungary, annexation to the young CSR [Czechoslovakian Republic] was accompanied by many advantages: in a democracy of the middle class they could fully develop their activities, publish their newspapers, and they were an important point of assembly in the fight against the authoritarian stand of the feudalistic bourgeois in the Horthy-motherland. But the democratic first republic of Czechoslovakia never succeeded in integrating the Hungarians as a member nationality of the state, just as the Slovaks never considered the CSR their state. Thus the Hungarians of the Felvidek--the highlands, the general Hungarian concept for Southern Slovakia--experienced the annexation to Horthy-Hungary by the first Court of Arbitration of Vienna in 1938, after the Munich Agreement and the dismemberment of the democratic CSR, more as liberation than the loss of all democratic rights and possibilities.

After 1945--rejoined again with Slovakia--branded as "collectively guilty," the most difficult time of the Hungarians in Slovakia has begun. Although back in 1944, the illegal Central Committee of the Slovakian Communist Party still attested to the in general democratic and even leftist leaning of the Hungarians, nevertheless, the governmental program of the new Czechoslovakia, passed 5 April in Kosice/Kaschau/Kassa in Eastern Slovakia, assigned a collective guilt to the Germans and Hungarians but did not yet provide--at least explicitly--for an expatriation of the nationalities. On 2 August 1945, all citizens of Hungarian nationality were deprived of their Czechoslovakian citizenship. In February 1946 begins the phase of "exchange of nationalities": the long-time Slovakian inhabitants of Hungary were to exchange residences with the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. But of a total of 500,000 to 600,000 Slovaks in Hungary, only about a tenth reported for repatriation. At the same time, a massive "reslovakization campaign" began in Slovakia.

According to the ordinance, individuals of Slovakian origin who ostensibly had been Magyarized in the meantime could request to be newly accepted into the Slovakian national "community."

On 19 November 1946 the action to deport 44,000 Hungarians to Bohemia and Moravia began. The number of those who perished during this action cannot be determined to this day.



Key:

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| 1. Poland | 5. Hungary |
| 2. Moravia | 6. Soviet Union |
| 3. Slovakia | 7. Regions with a majority (over 50 percent) Hungarian population |
| 4. Austria | |

The persecution of the Hungarian minority did not cease even with the take-over by the Communist Party in February 1948 although they were slowly granted the formal rights of a minority within the institutions of the monolithic state and the exchange and expatriation measures were halted.

This differentiated suppression has been reported since 1978 by the oppositional "Committee to Protect the Rights of the Hungarian Minority in Czechoslovakia."

Duray Biography

Vienna GEGENSTIMMEN in German No 12/4, Summer 83 p 35

[Text] Miklos Duray was born on 18 July 1945 in Lucenec/Losonc, in Central Slovakia. In 1968 he was a member of the Hungarian Youth Organization (MISZ) and, in the Presidium of the Central Committee of CSEMADOK--the Cultural-Social Association of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia--, he was a leading participant in the efforts to democratize the country. In 1971 he finished his studies at the university and in 1972 he was awarded a doctoral degree in geochemistry. Since 1978 he has been an activist in the oppositional "Committee to Protect the Rights of the Hungarian Minority in Czechoslovakia" (CSMKJB) and in this function he has also been repeatedly exposed

to persecution by the CSSR state police. In February 1982--accused under paragraph 98/section 2--he was brought to court but upon suspension of the proceedings, he was finally set free.

In April, Duray's autobiography: "Kutyaszorito" (Dog Choker) appeared in Hungarian, printed by a New York publisher.



Duray Interview

Vienna GEGENSTIMMEN in German No 12/4, Summer 83 pp 33-38

[Interview with Miklos Duray: "Penetrating Geologist" by Anna Bojkovsky and Georg Breitner of GEGENSTIMMEN]

[Text] What induced the authorities to set Miklos Duray free on 22 February, after a suspension of the proceedings, is unclear: it is clear, however, that immediately after his release measures for a new process were started. The collection of material against him did not cease and the judge, Peter Samko, who exhibited very fair behavior toward Duray, was replaced by Racko, a much stricter colleague.

In early April at his job with the firm DOPROSTAV. Duray was informed of his transfer to Zvolen/Zsolyom. According to the Slovakian labor laws, the employee has the right to refuse such transfers for personal reasons, and Duray made use of it.

After that he was told that his job would be abolished within a few weeks.

GEGENSTIMMEN: How long were you in custody?

DURAY: Since my arrest on 10 November 1982, I was in investigative custody in the Central Prison of Bratislava (Pozsony Bratislava). Nothing actually happened after my arrest until 1 December when the police report against me was completed. On that day, there were hardly any more documents in the evidence prepared by the police for a process than on 16 September. At that time the police inquiry was finished but it was renewed again later on the instruction of the district attorney. There was only one additional document of inquiry: a section chief of the Slovakian Ministry of Education was questioned in the matter of schools for ethnic minorities.

GEGENSTIMMEN: How did it turn out?

DURAY: He tried to refute my conclusions about the decline of the Hungarian schools in Czechoslovakia: in his assertions, he attempted to paint an idealized picture about the situation of the schools for nationalities...

GEGENSTIMMEN: Did he also refer to a written document by the oppositional Committee to Protect the Rights of the Hungarian Minority in Czechoslovakia (CSMKJB)?

DURAY: No, he replied in general to the complaints voiced by the nationalities about the schooling situation. Part of the activity of the Committee did deal with the lowering of standards, the situation and also the number of Hungarian-language schools. This activity was related to the plan of the Ministry of Education to change the language of instruction also in the schools for nationalities.

GEGENSTIMMEN: That was in 1979?

DURAY: No, this plan was first formulated already by 1978: accordingly, the Hungarian language instruction in the schools of the minority would have been reduced by more than 70 percent. Only Hungarian literature and language, geography and history were to be taught in Hungarian, the remainder in Slovakian. These changes were to involve the primary schools up to grade 5.

GEGENSTIMMEN: How many students attend such schools for nationalities?

DURAY: On the basis of the statistics in 1979, 55,000 students attended Hungarian primary schools whereby the number of students with Hungarian as their mother tongue who do not attend such schools for nationalities is estimated to be about 15-20,000.

GEGENSTIMMEN: Was the CSMKJB actually formed in connection with the drafting of this bill?

DURAY: Yes, this was the precipitating momentum and in the beginning the Committee was concerned almost exclusively with the school situation. But because the problems cannot be separated from each other so simply, we were

concerned not only with the schools but also with the other problems which influence the lives of Hungarians as a minority in Czechoslovakia: with the economic situation, with the settlement structure, the problems of industrial investments, employment possibilities or the density of industrial worksites in Southern Slovakia. We also attempted a complex analysis of the minority problem.

GEGENSTIMMEN: Only you are known by name among the Committee members?

DURAY: Yes.

GEGENSTIMMEN: ...And there were several documents.

DURAY: The first attained documentary character only later when it appeared in print, in Munich. We distributed it--as all of our documents--by mail to a different degree, to various target groups. Naturally, it dealt with the school problem and it tried to explore the development of the nationality schools from 1945 or 48 to the present time, point by point.

What we actually considered as our first document, appeared in January 1979. At the time, we sent it to all state posts, to the leading individuals of some social organizations such as, for instance, the CSEMADOK--the Cultural-Social Association of Hungarian Workers in Czechoslovakia.

Namely, the draft of the bill mentioned was to be discussed on 16 January 1979 in the Nationality Council of the Slovakian government. This Council also received the above mentioned document at the time. I don't want to suggest that it happened in response to this document, but the council did not support the introduction of the ministerial draft into practice.

GEGENSTIMMEN: Is the Nationality Council a federal institution?

DURAY: No, it works alongside the government...

GEGENSTIMMEN: ...of the Slovakian...

DURAY: ...as an advisory body with Slovakian, Hungarian and Ukrainian members.

GEGENSTIMMEN: No gypsies?

DURAY: No, in 1968 the gypsies were acknowledged only as an ethnic minority.

But basically, this council has decisively rejected the draft about the schools--only symbolically, of course, because this body does not have the right either to dismiss or to reject laws, it has a purely advisory function.

As we found out later, the draft came under renewed discussion in 1980/81. At the time, our Committee interfered and publicized documents 7 and 8. These documents were widely distributed, among others, we sent them to the

director of the primary and secondary schools for nationalities, to the parent councils and to the trustees of trade unions.

Documents 3 to 7 contained materials which did not exclusively deal with the school problem. I should mention here above all the third document of May 1979--a memorandum.

GEGENSTIMMEN: The document that was aimed at Charter 77?

DURAY: The Charter also received this document but the paper worked out particularly for it only became public in the autumn of 1979, as the fourth document.

The memorandum in May 1979 consisted of two basic parts: the first part enumerates the existing problems and the second part presents proposals to the proper authorities for their solution.

GEGENSTIMMEN: Could you describe this document somewhat?

DURAY: We divided the problems into several areas: school related, cultural, economic and legal. In the proposals for solution, we started out with ideas already formulated in the 1960's on the one hand, and we attempted to introduce new points of view, on the other hand.

But the authorities apparently suspected another motive behind our work: they started an enormous police action--the first phase of my interrogations by police also started at that time.

GEGENSTIMMEN: When was that, exactly?

DURAY: In August 1979. At the time, I had to sign a declaration at the district headquarters that I would no longer occupy myself with "such" matters.

GEGENSTIMMEN: At the time you already appeared with your name?

DURAY: No, but I took the suspicion upon myself because I wanted to protect my immediate surroundings from persecution: my mother, my father, sisters and father in law who are already older and could bear these stresses neither psychologically nor medically. Thereby I wanted to take the sting of the police actions to a certain extent. At the time, I landed in a Galilean situation: Although I had to declare that the earth does not move, yet I continued without interruption to research the movement of the earth.

"The suppression of the Hungarian minority is accomplished by the same policy which brought about the civil rights declaration of Charter 77"

Miklos Duray: "Dog Choker" (Kutyaszorító),
New York, 1983

But thereby a situation arose where the activities were driven forward, willy-nilly, by a few steps: in addition to the examination of the economic,

cultural and social situation, we began to examine to what extent the situation of the Hungarian minority, its legal status and security are in tune with the diverse international legal norms and recommendations, with UN agreements or the final document of Helsinki. This was the subject of protocol No 5.

GEGENSTIMMEN: What results did you reach?

DURAY: This document merely registered the known facts: that the international contracts and the recommendations of Helsinki are in practice not taken into consideration in the laws which determine the life of the minorities in Czechoslovakia. An example: in 1946, a law was issued in Czechoslovakia--paragraph 255--which decrees who can be recognized as participant in the fight against Fascism, respectively, for national liberation, and who could not.

GEGENSTIMMEN: ...in the Slovakian national uprising in 1944?

DURAY: Not only there but in the resistance in general, irrespective of which part of Europe.

As a result of this law, no Hungarian can be recognized as a resistance fighter. This law has been in effect to this day and naturally it has far reaching effects: not only that a population group is branded in a totally specific manner, but it also has economic consequences. Between 1945 and 1949, the Hungarian minority in Slovakia was completely without rights. In 1949 [this changed] because the Hungarians regained the Czechoslovakian citizenship that year.

GEGENSTIMMEN: With respect to the deprivation of Hungarians of their rights, what role was played by the Kassa government program in the spring of 1945 which was of basic importance in the re-establishment of Czechoslovakia?

DURAY: It was precisely this program which explicitly expressed these principles: the total deprivation not only of the Hungarians but also of the Germans of their rights was first brought forth by the government program. In any case, it has to be added here that this program also contained very justified demands and thereby also a democratic element. That must not remain without mention.

Namely, it attempted to finally clear the situation of the Slovakian nation within the Czechoslovakian Federation and to regulate state rights. But simultaneously, it also contained an antidemocratic element, a type of ethnocracy: the deprivation of the Hungarian and German minorities of their rights.

GEGENSTIMMEN: Who authored the program?

DURAY: The "National Front," it was formulated in Moscow but it arose on the basis of an agreement between the emigration in Moscow and in London.

GEGENSTIMMEN: And it explicitly declared the necessity to expatriate the German and Hungarian minorities?

DURAY: No, the expatriations were contained in the international agreements which, however, were not yet ratified at the time of publication of the Kassa program. Although the expatriations are another problem, nevertheless, logically and chronologically they are, of course, directly related to this aspect of the program even though they are the result of a totally different catalogue of measures. In our documents, we have criticized the Kassa government also in this respect.

GEGENSTIMMEN: That thereby it made the Hungarians and Germans responsible for the disintegration of the First Czechoslovakian Republic...

DURAY: It declared the Germans and Hungarians living on Czechoslovakian territory collectively guilty.

GEGENSTIMMEN: And is this valid to this day?

DURAY: It has not been unequivocally withdrawn to this day. But critical statements have already appeared in this connection: At one time, even the Communist Party criticized, although not the Kassa government program but rather the repressive actions against the Hungarians between 1945 and 1948.

GEGENSTIMMEN: That is, the forced emigrations and transfers?

DURAY: ...which had several phases: the first was the expatriation of the so-called "war criminals"--and [I mean] so-called because it did not matter here what functions these people indeed had during the war but simply in response to diverse charges and denunciations. This was followed by the transfer to Bohemia and Moravia and finally the expatriation to Hungary, the "population exchange" of 1947-48. There also was another phase in the early 1950's which, however, affected both the Slovaks and the Hungarians: the transfer of the old, city-dwelling population to the villages in connection with the "sharpening of the class struggles." Naturally, this measure affected the Hungarians differently than the Slovaks. In the course of this "sharpening," an ethnic turnover took place in the formerly Hungarian cities which did not happen in the formerly Slovak cities.

GEGENSTIMMEN: Were these population transfer actions supported by all parties until 1948?

DURAY: By the "National Front." Within Czechoslovakia, there was no opposition expressed by any party. It must be stressed, however, that not all of them were in agreement with the methods. The role of the Hussite Church must be pointed out here: in 1946-47, in their newspaper KOSTNICKÉ JISKRY (Constance Sparks), one could read articles with a truly humane basic stand--precisely in connection with the transfer of Hungarians to Bohemia. But this Church itself was very small. Nevertheless it must be mentioned because, in general, almost no one knows anything about it. At the time, a

veritable conflict developed between the Slovak Evangelist Church and the Czech Hussitic Church. Namely, the Slovaks criticized the latter Church because of its humane attitude toward the forced transfer of the Hungarians. This is also a still unexplored chapter in Czech-Slovak-Hungarian relations.

GEGENSTIMMEN: How did it continue after the takeover of power by the communists in 1948?

DURAY: In 1948, the Hungarians received all the rights of citizenship. This change in the legal standing is related to the change in February 1948. In consideration of the fact that in both countries--Hungary and Czechoslovakia--new political systems were created and that within this political system one could not afford such open adverse relationships as reigned between 1945 and 1948.

Thus the Hungarians were put on equal terms with the other citizens from the standpoint of state rights, however, this has not yet assured any type of minority rights for the Hungarian population. Even the constitution did not acknowledge the Hungarians as a minority group residing in the country. This was done first in the socialist constitution of 1961; socialist in the sense that Czechoslovakia declared itself a Socialist Republic.

GEGENSTIMMEN: And when could the already mentioned CSEMADOK, as a representative of the interests of Hungarians within the National Front be formed?

DURAY: In 1949 but not as the representative of interests. This was not the invention of the Hungarians but rather it was so declared, and this can be documented. Thus CSEMADOK is a cultural association the task of which is to support the integration of Czechoslovakian Hungarian workers in the CSSR. Hardly anything has changed since that time because CSEMADOK is still no representative of the Hungarian minority interests.

GEGENSTIMMEN: And 1968?

DURAY: There were efforts made to convert the association into a true representative of interests...

GEGENSTIMMEN: ...and to be represented in the National Front.

DURAY: That it was already--until 1972. But the efforts of 1968 were not successful because they could not be incorporated either statutorily or programmatically.

GEGENSTIMMEN: Are you now referring to the 14 March 1964 declaration by CSEMADOK?

DURAY: No, that was not a declaration of the transformation of CSEMADOK to an association with legal rights but the suggestion of a program to change the situation of the Hungarian minority. An organizational transformation occurred only in 1969. This program declaration and the new association

statutes contained the changes which were only endeavors in 1968: to let CSEMADOK become a representative of interests. Indeed enough happened that CSEMADOK, from a purely cultural association, could turn into a "social alliance." In 1971 its functions, established by statute, were again curbed and the word "social" was removed from the designation.

It should also be mentioned that CSEMADOK was excluded from the National Front in 1972.

GEGENSTIMMEN: What does that actually mean?

DURAY: It is not a member of the body in which all social, political and other interest representations are members: an association of canary bird breeders can be a member but CSEMADOK cannot. Officially it is maintained that the association could better fulfill its destination if it belonged to the Ministry of Culture. In plain language this means that a mass organization like CSEMADOK with 70,000 members must have all of its decisions first sanctioned by a section chief of the Ministry.

GEGENSTIMMEN: Could we come back to the other documents of CSMKJB?

DURAY: Actually, only a single additional point ought to be made clear: why I was not standing up personally for something in 1979 which I acknowledged by name in 1982. In 1979 I did not, first of all, in order to be able at all to continue our activity because the matter was simply not yet completed. Today the situation of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia is largely documented. Thus when they say now that, as of 3 June 1982, the activity of CSMKJB is completed, it means that during the previous 3 years the Committee had considered everything important what could be considered at all.

In 1979 an anonymity had to be preserved, in 1982 that is no longer the question: today--in 1983 and in the years to come--I accept complete publicity for the activity and documents of the Committee.

GEGENSTIMMEN: But there is one problem now: Within the Hungarian minority, a democratic opposition is arising which has actually no organized partner among the majority population--the Slovaks! Doesn't this present problems for the Committee?

DURAY: Czechoslovakia is a country with an extremely complex structure, already because it consists of two parts: Slovakia and Bohemia/Moravia with its own representative nations. The cultural and historical traditions of these two nations are fundamentally different and their national interests are also different: the interests of the Czechs correspond roughly to that of Hungarians in the motherland. Whereby I would not say that the Slovaks would not have equal interests in democratization, nevertheless, they are buried in a specific set of problems: those derived from the Federation sanctioned after 1968 and the reorganization of the state structure.

GEGENSTIMMEN: Could one say that 1968 meant defeat to the Czechs, and to the Slovaks it meant victory to a certain extent?

DURAY: From the course of development in 1968, the Slovak nation emerged--I stress: supposedly--as victor. From all the efforts, only one became concrete: the transformation of the CSSR into a federal state. For the formation of a Slovak state this is an essential point. The restructuring of the state rights of the country made it possible for the social structure of the Slovak population to become broader and more complex.

GEGENSTIMMEN: ...that is, to a certain extent, overcoming the historical deformity of the Slovak societal structure where the German, Czech and Hungarian nationalities were the leading elites?

DURAY: But to a certain extent this is also comparable with those efforts which historical Hungary made after the 1867 reconciliation: at least with respect to the nationality problem. In Slovakia, there exists today a kind of language imperialism against the Hungarian.

GEGENSTIMMEN: But are there contacts with the Czech or Slovak opposition?

DURAY: This is a very apt question because our problems can only be solved in a democratic manner. Both the problems which were expressed by Charter 77 in its many documents and also the problems which the CSMKJB turned up and documented can be truly solved only when the medium, in which all of these groupings of Hungarians, Slovaks and Czechs move, becomes democratized. With a larger measure of democracy these problems could be diminished or the tensions under the surface could also be eliminated.

It is difficult to formulate what connection there is between the Czechoslovak-Hungarian opposition and the civil rights movement of the Czechs and Slovaks. On the one hand, one could simply say that there is none, on the other hand, there is and a very good one. And not only because the interest of all lies in democracy.

I have already mentioned that our Committee sent its documents to Charter 77 which is concentrated mainly in Prague. The Charter members did not react to these documents: but meanwhile I learned that the basic problem of the Charter was that the CSMKJB has not somehow been made specific through one person.

In Slovakia there is no movement similar to Charter 77 in Prague: a total of four people in Slovakia signed the Charter, three philosophers and one author.

"If the Hungarians in Czechoslovakia remain true to their steadfastness in 1968 and to the lessons to be drawn from it then they must connect the fight for minority rights with the Charter 77 strivings."

The first public declaration by the Charter about the situation of the Hungarian minority in the CSSR appeared 28 December 1982 as spokesmen for my predicament brought out a document, which is to be evaluated as an extremely positive fact. Every single step which attempts to protect democracy must

be counted as a plus. But a democratization of society in the CSSR should not be reduced exclusively to the problems contained in the documents of the Charter. It is at least an identical test for democracy how Czechoslovak society--and not only its leadership--relates to the problem of minorities.

"The acknowledgement of internationalism by words and its replacement in the deeds, in the entire propaganda, agitation and practical work through narrow-minded nationalism and pacifism is a very usual phenomenon not only within the parties of the II. International but also in the parties which have left this International and even in those parties which now refer to themselves as communist."

W. I. Lenin: Original Outline of the theses on the national and colonial problem. For the II. Comintern Congress.

No one can blame us if we declare that the Hungarians in Czechoslovakia did not become citizens of this land voluntarily but rather, as a result of the decisions by the great powers, they were detached from the body of the Hungarian nation and were incorporated within the borders of another state. Whoever gets something appropriated, must also accept full responsibility for it. Thus when a region, the population of which is overwhelmingly of Hungarian nationality, is attached to Czechoslovakia, the Czechoslovak state becomes just as responsible for it as for its own citizens.

GEGENSTIMMEN: Such a feeling of responsibility is developed precisely within the democratic opposition and not by the authorities, I am referring to the great debate which is just now going on in the Prague underground about the German-Czech relations and about the consequences of the expatriation of the Germans.

DURAY: It is a fact that the more complex the composition of a society is, the more initiatives arise which take up more substantially and sincerely the problems of a country than the authorities would be capable of doing in this respect I consider this debate, which is now being conducted among Czech intellectuals about the "German problem" very important. A similar controversy about the Hungarian problem has not yet arisen in Czech circles.

However, I should like to point to an article by Jan Tesar in the Zurich socialdemocratic exile newspaper PRAVO LIDU. In it, Tesar attempts to analyze the relationship of the Czechs to the neighboring peoples: the Russians, Poles and even the Hungarians. He points out that, when the persecution of Charter 77 began and the representatives of VONS [Committee for the Defense of the Unfairly Prosecuted] were brought to court, in Hungary, there were significant solidarity actions on the part of the opposition which had hardly an echo from the opposition circles in Prague. Jan Tesar reproaches the opposition for it, and rightly so. Whereby I would like it to be understood not as a reproach but as a fact. Possibly the whole thing was merely a diplomatic blunder by the Czech democratic opposition. Regretfully, such

a blunder can make the possibilities for an eventual future approach or a joint platform more difficult. Thereby I consider it of utmost importance that the dissenters of Central Europe find each other.

GEGENSTIMMEN: Nevertheless, such tendencies do exist.

DURAY: Outside of the facts mentioned, there has not arisen any practically demonstrable contact between the Committee to Protect the Rights and the Charter.

A Slovak opposition is basically non-existent except for the groups currently being formed in the Slovak Catholic Church and officially referred to as "underground church." Nevertheless, there were expressions from these groups that it would be a mistake to view the activity of the Committee to Protect the Rights of the Unfairly Prosecuted under de as part of a Slovak-Hungarian controversy. It would indeed be a mistake if the crimes of a state leadership would degenerate into national controversies.

GEGENSTIMMEN: In your view, what is the reason for this absence of a democratic opposition?

DURAY: 1968! Exactly because since that time there has been a federation and ever since they have been striving in Slovakia to fill the newly won framework.

GEGENSTIMMEN: Therefore, the Committee has no partner in Slovakia?

DURAY: Actually no. One could say that, in Slovakia, a democratic opposition was formed only within the Hungarian minority and not within the Slovak majority. A suitable proof of this fact is that, in Slovakia, there was only one political trial --against me--while there were many more in Bohemia and Moravia.*

GEGENSTIMMEN: And what will be the future of the Committee?

DURAY: There is only one uncertain point: the further developments with respect to my person. My trial on 31 January 1983 lasted 2 days, on 1 February it was adjourned to the 11th, and 2 days before that date it was completely suspended.

On 22 February I was set free whereby it was stressed that nothing has changed in the legal situation of my case: thus, I continue to be indicted under paragraph 98/section 2 which means imprisonment for up to 10 years. And I don't know which day the indefinitely adjourned process against me will start anew.

The state attorney's office keeps collecting documents against me: they strive to find evidence which would refute my account. But all of my data were derived exclusively from official statistics. If they would want to prove the opposite, this would only be possible through massive falsifications.

The continuation of my trial on the basis of the same indictment would be a most unpleasant matter to me personally, and for the Slovak-Hungarian relationship it would be plain disaster.

*Comments by the editors:

How well the regime succeeds in withholding information from the inhabitants of the country is shown by this statement by Duray. Indeed there also are opponents among the Slovak population: in part with their signature under Charter 77 they expose themselves to the severest repressions, in part they collaborate in church communities and are persecuted by the regime for this reason. During last year, VONS reported several cases of political trials and here we can only name a few of those involved: Tomas Petrivy, Bratislava, signer of Charter 77, the sole witness to the mistreatment of Jaroslav Sabata after his arrest at the Czech-Polish border, was sentenced to a total of 2 years; Dr Peter Pohl, Bratislava, signer of Charter 77, was sentenced in the autumn of 1977 to 20 months for harming the interests of the republic (because he had sent letters to Austria); the Reverend Vojtech Srna, Brno, for celebrating mass, received 12 months loss of freedom suspended for 3 years and an additional 3 years suspension from priestly activities; Dr Jaroslav Sabata, signer and former spokesman of Charter 77, was sentenced to 6 and 1/2 years under paragraph 98 (undermining the republic) of which he had to serve almost 5 years in spite of the severest health problems; Milan Simecka, Bratislava, signer of Charter 77, under arrest since 6 May 1981, also accused under paragraph 98; the Reverend Marijan Zajicek, Bratislava, was also brought to court under this paragraph for distributing documents of Charter 77; Helena Gondova and Frantisek Novajovsky, both of Bratislava, were sentenced to 1 year each for "agitation."

Culturally Isolated

Vienna GEGENSTIMMEN in German No 12/4, Summer 83 p 36

[Text] Almost unnoticed, the Czech-Hungarian relationship reached freezing point during the last years: through the extensive restrictions in travel, introduced in 1982, reciprocal tourism has fallen 49 percent compared to last year.

But not only this kind of limitation but also the stepwise isolation from the culture of the motherland is disastrous to the Hungarian minority in Slovakia: Hungarian films, by now also known in the West because of their frank tone, are hardly to be seen in the CSSR, book imports from Hungary are falling because the price framework has remained unchanged for years while the prices in Hungary have risen strikingly in recent times. The selection of Hungarian books in the bookstores of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia is more and more approaching the Romanian standard. Hungarian authors such as Sandor Csoori, Ferenc Santa and Gyula Illyes are blacklisted. In the Hungarian-language newspapers and magazines of Czechoslovakia, Hungarian authors from the motherland can hardly publish any more: the minority publisher: Madach has no right to make contracts with foreign authors.

But also within the country, everything is being done to culturally isolate the minority: Madach is only allowed to market literature products in Hungarian, all other products of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian cultural life such as folklore, regional and art history must be published by other--Slovak and also Slovak-language--publishers.

A Czech Response

Vienna GEGENSTIMMEN in German No 12/4, Summer 83 p 38

[Article by Jan Tesar: "We and the Hungarians" in: PRAVO LIDU Vol 84 No 3]

[Text] On the other side, in their quasi-neighborhood to the South, the Czechs have an unusually highly cultured nation with an outstanding tradition of freedom fights which for more than 200 years has fought the same fight against the same oppressor. And in spite of it, we were never in a position to find even as much contact with it as with the Poles. I will not offer my esteemed readers the satisfaction of making the historical approach ridiculous and of having myself argue in historical terms. Therefore, I should like to merely present a few examples from the near-present: What kind of response was there on the Czech side to the magnificent and truly international conduct of the Hungarian minority in Southern Slovakia during the military intervention by Kadar's Hungary in 1968? When have we ever expressed interest in the fate of the Hungarian minority in a situation where the fraternal Slovak Republic has not only its own police but also its own Ministry of Education? And as for the Charter and the open Czech dissidence in general: have we sufficiently valued, for instance, the expressions of Hungarian solidarity in connection with the processes with VONS? Are we indeed becoming conscious of the fact that the Hungarians, who live under fundamentally different conditions, have had absolutely no direct self-interests in the public manifestations of solidarity either in the past or in the present?

2473

CSO: 2500/77

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES ROMANIA'S GIOSAN--Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, has received the chairmen of parliaments from Warsaw Pact countries attending the consultative meeting held in Sofia 9-10 November. Grand National Assembly Chairman Nicolae Qiosan participated on behalf of our country. On this occasion, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed the seriousness of the situation created in Europe and the dangers linked to the deployment of the new medium-range nuclear missiles on this continent. In this context, he stressed the responsibility devolving on parliaments and parliamentarians in the broad movement for disarmament and peace to stop the dangerous trend of events, to free Europe from nuclear weapons, and to promote an atmosphere of understanding and cooperation among peoples. [Text] [AU102042 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 10 Nov 83]

CSO: 2700/54

BRIEFS

DELEGATION FOR UNESCO MEETING--A delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania left today for Paris, where it will attend the proceedings of the 22nd session of the general UNESCO conference. The delegation is led by Prof. Sofokli Lazri, director of the Institute of International Relations Studies. [Text] [AU262027 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Oct 83]

HOXHA THANKS LAO LEADER--On 16 November, Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the LPDR, received a message of thanks from Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee. The message reads as follows: I am pleased to express friendly salutations and thanks to you, comrade, for the greetings that you conveyed to me on my 75th birthday. I wish the Lao people success and happiness. I also wish for the daily promotion and expansion of the fraternal relations between our countries. [Text] [BK180334 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 0000 GMT 17 Nov 83]

HOXHA BOOK THIRD PUBLICATION--The third edition of Comrade Enver Hoxha's book "When the Party Was Born--Memoirs" has been published and has entered circulation. [Text] [AU061437 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 31 Oct 83]

DELEGATION RETURNS HOME--A trade delegation of the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, headed by Foreign Trade Minister Shane Korbeci, has returned home from the Republic of Malta. [Text] [AU201456 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 20 Nov 83]

MINISTER RECEIVED BY MINTOFF--Dominic Mintoff, prime minister of the Republic of Malta, on 18 November received Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and had a friendly talk with him. [Text] [AU191945 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 19 Nov 83]

CSO: 2100/18

U.S. POLICY TO EAST EUROPE CRITICIZED

AU220721 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Nov 83 p 6

[Article by Julius P. Loerincz: "Tool of Imperialist Strategy Against the Socialist States; an Original and Dangerous Domino Game"; passages in upper-case published in boldface]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted elaborating on the U.S. treatment of states and nations as dominoes] **IT CAN BE SAID THAT THE "DOMINO THEORY" OF THE SIXTIES STEMMED FROM THE EFFORT TO PRESERVE THE EXISTING POSITIONS OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM--THAT MEANS, TO STOP ITS SHIFTING INTO DEFENSIVE POSITIONS CONNECTED WITH THE GENERAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE CORRELATION OF FORCES, WHICH WAS NOT FAVORABLE FOR IMPERIALISM. But, of course, this must not mislead us to simplify the assessment of this theoretical concept by calling it defensive. AFTER ALL, ALREADY IN THE SIXTIES THE "DOMINO THEORY" BEGAN TO BE APPLIED, IN ITS MOST ACTIVE AND AGGRESSIVE FORM, AGAINST THE SOCIALIST STATES; AT THAT TIME IT WAS, FOR INSTANCE, THE CONCEPT OF "BUILDING BRIDGES" WHICH PLAYED A CERTAIN ROLE DURING PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON'S ERA IN INCITING THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.**

Creating the Weakest Link

However, the critical development in our country in the years 1968-69 were not the first manifestation of a most intensive imperialist meddling in the development of socialist countries with the aim of achieving a counterrevolutionary turn in one of them, as thus not only weakening socialism, but establishing conditions for similar developments in other formations of the socialist community and in the entire world socialist system. In the case of Hungary, in 1956, imperialism considered it the weakest link in the collective of socialist countries and chose it for the application of the "domino theory"; after all, the situation was similar at the turn from the seventies to the eighties, in the case of Poland. **THE PARTICIPATION OF IMPERIALISM IS QUITE OBVIOUS, IN SHAPING THE "WEAK LINK" THROUGH POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY, AND MOST EMPHATICALLY THROUGH THE ECONOMIC-FINANCIAL POLICY WHICH IS IMPLEMENTED ALSO AGAINST OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.** [Passage omitted on Brzezinski's bridge-building activities as a means of pressuring socialist states]

Tying Our Hands in the Economy

IT IS ABOVE ALL THE UNITED STATES WHICH IS LITERALLY DESTROYING THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS ECONOMIC CONTACTS BETWEEN THE EAST AND WEST, MAKING USE OF THESE CONTACTS FOR INTERFERING IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES' INTERNAL AFFAIRS, FOR MAKING THEM DEPENDENT ON WESTERN CAPITAL, IN THE ENDEAVOR TO DRIVE THEM INTO A CORNER AND TO TIE THEIR HANDS. The United States misuses the natural interest of the CEMA member-countries and of all other socialist, or socialist-oriented, states in developing economic cooperation based on equal rights, or in purchasing commodities which are not present in sufficient amounts on the world socialist market. This is connected with large expenditures of foreign currency and with the acquisition of high-interest loans. [Passage omitted quoting Konstantin Rusakov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, to prove the point]

A deepening of the integration process would help us avoid many difficulties, evade excessive, heavy debts to the capitalist banks, and acquire new incentives for developing our own production forces. From this viewpoint, the Soviet Union's proposal at the recent 37th CEMA session in Berlin--namely, that the CEMA countries should organize a common production of a number of machines, equipment, and materials, the sales of which are being limited by the West--is of extraordinary significance.

Against Differentiated Aggression

THE TASK TO COUNTER OTHER FORMS OF IMPLEMENTING THE "DOMINO THEORY," ABOVE ALL THOSE IN THE SHAPE OF A SO-CALLED DIFFERENTIATED AGGRESSION OF IMPERIALISM AGAINST THE SOCIALIST STATES, ALSO DEMANDS A COLLECTIVE EFFORT. U.S. Vice President George Bush has shown himself to be the banner-bearer of this aggression toward the end of this September, when he visited several North African countries, and then also Yugoslavia, Romania, and Hungary; then, in Vienna, he "summarized his experience" from this trip, particularly with regard to the socialist countries. He spoke of Washington's "DIFFERENTIATED APPROACH" to them and he handed out "stickers": He promised that the United States would establish closer political, economic, and cultural contacts with Hungary and Romania which, he said, show, a greater "openness." On the other hand, he said, Washington cannot "reward closed societies and a militant foreign policy," represented, according to him, for instance by Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

WE HAVE HERE A FRANK ATTEMPT TO EVOKE SUSPICION AND DISTRUST AMONG THE SOCIALIST STATES, TO MISUSE DIFFERENCES IN CONDITIONS AND EXPERIENCES, AND ALSO THE PECULIARITIES IN THE SOLUTION OF CERTAIN PROBLEMS, FOR PRODUCING TENSIONS BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. [Passage omitted quoting NEPSZABADSAG on Bush's statements]

Attacks Against Yalta

But, in Vienna, Vice President Bush also rejected the Yalta agreements, which were concluded by the three powers of the anti-Hitler coalition--the

Soviet Union, the United States, and Great Britain--in February 1945, and even the concept of preserving the postwar arrangement on the European Continent as it was confirmed by the CSCE Final Act, signed in Helsinki in 1975. AND THIS MUST BE REGARDED AS A DANGEROUS ATTEMPT TO DESTABILIZE EUROPE.

The documents of the Yalta conference did not mean a division of Europe between "superpowers," or a delimitation of frontiers between the capitalist and the socialist system; together with the results of the Tehran and Potsdam conferences, they EXPRESS CORESPONSIBILITY FOR EUROPE'S BECOMING A CONTINENT OF PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE PEOPLES; FOR PREVENTING A REPETITION OF AGGRESSIONS LIKE HITLER'S WAS; AND FOR ALLOWING NATIONS AND STATES TO LIVE SIDE BY SIDE ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY. Of course, World War II influenced Europe's sociopolitical reality and strengthened and radicalized the progressive way of thinking of the working people's masses; in several countries this has directed the internal processes of social transformations toward socialism. At the same time, in countries which lacked the prerequisites for socialist transformations, the capitalist political-social system was retained. But these processes were not, and also could not, be decided on in Tehran, Yalta, or Potsdam. But the postwar relations in Europe were decided on there--relations which have enabled the countries on our continent to live for almost 40 years in peace and in a relative stability.

IN THIS WAY THE ATTACKS ON YALTA AGREEMENTS EXPRESS THE ARROGANCE OF THE POLICY OF STRENGTH; THEY ARE AN ATTEMPT TO COMPLETELY DISRUPT THE ATMOSPHERE OF CONSTRUCTIVE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND COOPERATION AND TO REPLACE IT BY A CONFRONTATION, AND TO FOIST ON EUROPE THE AMERICAN IMPERIALIST DIKTAT--PAX AMERICANA. [Passage omitted quoting PZPR's Olszowski on the aggressive U.S. policy toward Europe]

The implementation of various variants and methods of the "domino theory" in subversive activities against socialism is thus accompanied by a threat to the general stability, particularly in Europe, this key continent of our present nuclear age. THE IMPERATIVE NEED TO SYSTEMATICALLY AND PURPOSEFULLY CONSOLIDATE AND DEEPEN THE UNITY AND COHESION OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IS YET MORE ENHANCED IN VIEW OF THIS LINE. [Passage omitted quoting CPSU's Romanov on this point]

A PERSISTENT, CONSISTENT, AND PATIENT FULFILLMENT OF THIS BASIC TASK IS PART AND PARCEL OF BOTH OUR DUTY AND OUR RESPONSIBILITY, WHICH FOLLOW FROM THE FACT THAT THE UNITY, DYNAMIC ACTIVITY, AND STRENGTH OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ARE THE PRIMARY SUPPORT OF MANKIND'S EFFORTS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PRESERVING PEACE, IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS.

CSO: 2400/93

HUSAK SPEAKS TO CSSR PHYSICAL TRAINING DELEGATION

LD211829 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 21 Nov 83

[Text] Today at Prague Castle, Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, received a delegation of the Czechoslovak Physical Training Association led by the chairman of its central committee, Antonin Himl. The delegation included members of the Association's Central Committee Presidium and leading Czechoslovak sportsmen. Antonin Himl informed Comrade Gustav Husak about the course and results of the 6th congress of the Association, delivered greetings from its participants and thanked him for the help given to the development of physical training and sport by the CPCZ, by the socialist state, and by Comrade Husak himself.

In his reply, Comrade Gustav Husak appreciated the results which our united physical training organization achieved as a result of the help from thousands of voluntary officials in the past period of development of physical training and sport, and its share in the accomplishments of socialist construction and in the education of the young generation. He emphasized that great changes in the peoples living conditions and the process of creating a socialist way of life make it necessary for the importance of physical education in the development of society to become significantly greater. By this we mean above all mass physical training, regular participation of the widest stratas of working people and youth in activities of physical training, sport, and tourism, Comrade Husak stressed. This is a complex task in which the social organizations of the National Front, schools, national committees, and other institutions must take part. However, the Czechoslovak Physical Training Association has special responsibility for carrying it out. It is necessary to develop and implement truly effective methods and forms of activity and to open playing fields, gymnasiums and stadiums to the largest possible number of children, youth, and adults for regular physical training and sport. Comrade Husak expressed his conviction that the preparation of the Czechoslovak Spartakiad 1985 in particular, will provide great impetus for the fulfillment of goals which the 6th congress of the Association set for the development of mass physical training. When Comrade Gustav Husak spoke of the task of top sport and state representation, he reminded us of the requirement to use in the best possible way, the conditions provided by our society for the development of sportsmen. Even in this area it is important to take note of the high requirements

of preparation and education, so that our sportsmen can be perfect representatives of our socialist fatherland both in their results and in their conduct. It is of irreplaceable value for the successful development of physical training, Gustav Husak continued, that it become one with the life of society. In this context, he appreciated that our united physical training organization as part of the national front expressed full agreement at the 6th congress with the policy of the CPCZ, and that it will take an active part in fulfilling the tasks which concern us today. The current time of great struggle for the preservation and strengthening of peace in the world, Comrade Gustav Husak continued, demands from the physical training movement that it increase among its members and especially among young people, political education work to explain the goals and meaning of our policy to them, to strengthen their socialist awareness, to educate them in national pride, socialist internationalism, and patriotism. The more the physical training movement succeeds in fulfilling this task, the bigger will be its contribution to the development of socialist society.

Finally, Gustav Husak wished the Czechoslovak Physical Training Association further success in fulfilling the conclusions of its 6th congress, and emphasized that the CPCZ and the socialist state will continue to give total support to the educational movement in the fulfillment of its task.

Then in a comradely conversation the members of the Association's Central Committee Presidium and our leading sportsmen talked about current problems and tasks of physical training and sport, in particular about the need to deepen cooperation in making use of the physical education facilities for the development of mass physical training and sport in individual places, physical training clubs, on housing estates and in schools. They spoke of the training for top sportsmen, how it is vital to exchange experiences between the branches of sport and the application of scientific research in sport, and about the joint responsibility of the Czechoslovak Physical Training Association for the education of the new generation. They also informed one another about the preparation of representatives for the winter and summer Olympic Games. Present at the meeting were, Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Lubomir Prochazka, head of a party Central Committee department; and Frantisek Salda, chief of the chancellery of the president.

CSO: 2400/93

FOJTIK SPEAKS AT SOCIALIST ACADEMY CONGRESS

LD261405 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 26 Nov 83

[Text] The third congress of the Socialist Academy of the CSSR continues in the Municipal House in Prague today.

Ivana Bernaskova, reporter, reports:

The congress is continuing with a discussion in which Jan Fojtik, head of the CPCZ Central Committee delegation, candidate Presidium member and secretary of the party Central Committee participated this morning.

He said that the deliberations had been very concrete and had dealt with current issues which have been in the center of our attention. He appreciated that the Socialist Academy saw the world view education, elucidation of the scientific view of the world which forms the basis of socialist human education as focal point for its activity. It is very important that people not only identify with socialism but that they have conviction.

In analyzing the current situation in the world Comrade Fojtik emphasized the fact that in complicated international conditions the Socialist Academy has been pointing out how the whole socialist community, headed by the USSR, has contributed actively to the handling of controversial issues through deliberations. It is developing in its students the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and directs them--in keeping with the topical internal political tasks--towards fulfilment of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ congress.

When Comrade Fojtik spoke about the effectiveness of political education work he said that we needed propaganda proving the vitality of Marxism-Leninism, gaining the support of working people, and reflecting the material and spiritual advancement of our society. Therefore it cannot evade criticism of shortcomings but must help to reveal their causes and to remove them.

The third congress of Socialist Academy is continuing with a discussion.

CSO: 2400/93

EDITORIAL ON 'ANTISOCIALIST ACTIVITY'

AU171126 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Nov 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Legality, Morale, Discipline"]

[Text] "The socialist society's successful advance depends on the consistent and systematic implementation of, and adherence to, Marxist-Leninist principles in all spheres. These principles also include the one which says that the source of riches, both of the socialist society, and of its citizens, can only be honest and diligent work that is remunerated according to its quantity, quality, and social significance. In ensuring our advance, we may distribute and consume only what we create by our honest work. This applies both to the entire society, and to every citizen."

This passage is quoted from the introduction to the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's Letter to Party Bodies and Organizations On Intensifying the Efficient Fight Against Violations of the Principles of Socialist Legality, Morale, and Discipline.

Let us add to this that the society must cultivate a great awareness and culture in every person, and also great professional skill and the ability to make sensible use of the virtues and achievements of socialism.

However, this will always remain only a mere idea, demand, norm, or imperative, if it does not grow into a material force which shapes and conditions the way of thinking, the attitudes, and the actions of individuals, collectives, and the society.

Although we have achieved quite a number of positive results in this effort, and although the overwhelming majority of working people fully identify themselves with these principles and work honestly and selflessly, we still have a certain number of individuals who are circumventing these principles, belittling and violating them. These are people who enrich themselves at the cost of the society or of their fellow-citizens in various ways, frequently without any inhibitions and contrary to socialist morale.

In connection with this unpleasant reality, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's letter says: "The unwarranted acquisition of property or of some other personal benefit has negative political impacts on the people's

way of thinking and acting. This is particularly true in those instances when the property of some citizens and their way of life are obviously out of all proportion to their legitimate incomes and their property situation. This is particularly serious when certain leading workers in responsible functions act in this manner. In the final analysis this harms the party's authority and the interests of the socialist society...."

Again we could say that any harsh and truthful statement is, and will remain, only a platonic statement if the problems, shortcomings, and abuses which this statement verbally pillories are not gradually, but uncompromisingly resolved and eliminated; if the individuals' antisocial activity, parasitism, and profiteering [spekulantsstvo] do not encounter an emphatic and effective condemnation and punishment.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's Letter stresses and underscores that it is impermissible to confuse a sensitive and attentive attitude toward the cadres with a "misplaced" opportunist, conciliatory attitude toward their mistakes and shortcomings, with liberalism toward those who are not fulfilling their tasks, who have not mastered their mission and the authority and responsibility invested in them, who fail to notice disorder and the lack of discipline, and who ignore critical suggestions. It is also impossible to protect those staff members who have come into conflict with the principles of socialist morale and with the legal code. A systematic and unappeasable battle must be waged against disorder, stealing, speculations, bribery, and all personal, local, and group interests.

It is the primary task of every working place, of the entire society to consolidate discipline and order, which represent the basic prerequisite for an effective battle against negative phenomena, as well as of a successful fulfillment of the program and line of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

If we honestly ponder the shortcomings and abuses which upset and persecute us, we will obviously come to the critical and self-critical knowledge that the time is past when we spent it on hopeless, or scarcely effective, sermonizing or enlightenment work, on unconvincing agitation, education, or re-education. Everything in life, the good as well as the bad, has a certain limit and scope. It is necessary critically to reassess the existing forms and methods of fighting against stealing, against the misuse and acquisition of property from socialist ownership, against violations of the principles of socialist morale and discipline. The good that the forms and methods contain, and all that has passed the test of practice, must be enhanced; all that has proved ineffective, unsuitable, or nonviable must be replaced by new, more knowledgeable, and energetic methods. Nobody and nothing must discourage us from taking this path. Nothing would be so harmful as to retreat or capitulate before various abuses or antisocial activities. The battle against the bearers and manifestations of these phenomena demands character, conviction, and determination, as well as courage to criticize even an unworthy superior and to take a stand against the demagoguery which considers, and presents, as antisocial if one demands discipline, order, the protection of socialist ownership, and the devoted accomplishment of tasks from the people.

The demand to respect and adhere to the principles of socialist legality, morale, and discipline applies without exception to everybody in our society. In this connection, nobody holds an exceptional position; everybody is duty bound to abide by these principles. And if a person violates them, he must account for himself to the party, the state, the workers class.

We must not have people whose names appear to be taboo, and inaccessible for the law. Both violations of socialist legality and prevention activity are not merely legal issues, they are social and moral issues, since we are primarily fighting for the socialist man, for the protection of his dignity and honor, for his best civic qualities and high moral principles. Simultaneously, only that law remains alive which is adhered to, which is abided by in all places, and by everyone.

It is thus the first and basic principle of an effective struggle against antisocial phenomena to emphatically and effectively condemn and punish [postihnout] everybody who violates the legal and moral principles of the socialist society. The second principle--and it is only together with this principle that one can fulfill the first one--lies in the incorruptible, imperative demand to conduct this struggle not on the level of moralizing, generalization, and anonymity, but always and in all circumstances specifically and personally [adresne]. Whether somebody likes this or not--and we have written about this a hundred times--the offensive nature of our struggle against manifestations of the vestiges of the capitalist order, against relapses into petty bourgeois ways, and against antisocial phenomena in the individuals' way of acting unconditionally calls for, and demands, concreteness. Any and all antisocial phenomena are the result of human activity, of the activity of an individual, or that of a group of people in which each person has a name and surname. This means that if one is to influence them, to condemn them effectively, or to punish them justly, they must be shaken out of their anonymity. There is no other consistent way.

The irreplaceable demand in the battle against antisocial activity is to further raise the level and efficiency of political-educational and ideological work, to firmly tie it to the practical tasks of building advanced socialism. Or, in other words: to develop a broad ideological activity as part and parcel of the political-organizational and management work. At the same time ideological work must be developed comprehensively, as a combined world-outlook, working, and moral education.

Whenever this unity, this mutual interdependence is absent, the soil and mycelium for liberalism and opportunism in practice, as well as the weed of antisocial phenomena is born. In such soil formalism flourishes, in which reality is presented as a wish, and a wish as reality; the "truth" of report-sheets as the realistic picture of the situation; and ephemeral promises as guarantees of certainty.

We are justified in stressing the significance of the ideological ensurance of economic activity. However, the economic, or broader, social ensurance of the standards and efficiency of ideological work is of no less significance--and perhaps even of more significance. Because any disorder, waste, violation of the law, morale, or discipline, any acquisitiveness and corruption depreciate the work of thousands of agitators and propagandists.

The substance of socialist discipline lies in the full engagement of every person in his place of work; in the rational, and almost scientific, utilization of the abilities, skill, inventiveness, and experience of every individual and collective. This greatly depends on well-organized political-educational and ideological work. But this work must most decidedly be based on a modern organization of work, on a precise material-technical ensurance of production, and on an improved variety of forms and means of material and moral stimulation.

We reject the opinion that the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's Letter is a whip designed primarily for the leading staff in responsible functions; that it was intended--as some isolated voices claimed--to introduce a kind of witch-hunt or mass "decapitation" campaign. Obviously, these claims are being voiced by those who, so-to-say, have eggs on their faces.

In the mind of an ordinary person, every leading worker must be the bearer of noble ideological and moral qualities, regardless of whether he is, or is not, a party member. It is as though the reflection of that great trust and authority rested on him, which the party has acquired among the working people by the revolutionary and truthful nature of its feat, by its constant care for their needs and interests.

And this is not merely a great honor, it is also an immense responsibility.

CSO: 2400/93

FOJTÍK PRESENT AT CSSR SOCIALIST ACADEMY CONGRESS

LD271458 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 27 Nov 83

[Text] The Third CSSR Socialist Academy Congress ended a short while ago with a discussion, the announcement of the results of the election of central bodies and adoption of final documents. A delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, Federal Government and the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front headed by Jan Fojtík, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, were present during the proceedings. Delegates to the congress were briefed at the outset of today's proceedings about the outcome of the first Socialist Academy Central Committee session, which was held at the close of the second day of the congress proceedings. Milan Matous, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, was elected chairman of the Socialist Academy Central Committee. Josef Popelka was reelected as chief secretary of this body. Antonín Nesvadba was elected chairman of the Central Auditing Commission.

In the ensuing debate, speakers voiced the Socialist Academy's determination to further increase the effectiveness, quality and impact of lectures in all spheres. Delegates also spoke about lecturers' tasks in the dissemination of the findings of natural and technological sciences and in the effort to promote the development of a broadly-based movement to apply speedily the results of sciences and technology in practice. They stressed above all the need to publicize such findings, which form the basis of new technological methods, enabling the automation of production processes, reduction of the consumption of fuels, energy and raw materials and their better utilization.

During an interval in the congress proceedings Jan Fojtík, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; and Vasil Bejda, head of a department of the CPCZ Central Committee, presented Klement Gottwald commemorative medals to six long-serving lecturers in recognition of their exemplary work in the Socialist Academy. They also presented to three officials of the Czechoslovak Academy a honorary recognition of the CPCZ Central Committee for their years of propaganda work.

CSO: 2400/93

DAILY URGES BETTER TRAINING OF YOUNG CP CADRES

AU221738 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Nov 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Young Communists--The Future of the Party"]

[Excerpt] All of us together, and everyone of us are--according to our abilities--resolving complex tasks. We do not conceal that there are quite a few of them. It is being rightly expected at every worksite that at the head of their realization will stand communists. This was and always will be the case. The only privilege in which they differ from the rest of the working people is their greater responsibility, hard work, and selflessness. With this chiefly in mind, the party devotes systematic attention to making its membership basis qualitatively better.

The CPCZ is the decisive political force in our state. Every seventh adult is organized in it. More than 364,000 candidate members were admitted between its 15th and 16th congresses. The overwhelming majority of them--more than 91 percent--are young people under 35 years of age.

The favorable social and age structure of the membership basis not only makes it possible, but at the same time requires that an ever greater emphasis be put on qualitative aspects when admitting candidate members or educating young party members. This demand was expressed in the resolution of the third session of the CPCZ Central Committee 2 years ago, and is enhanced by the fact that communists admitted to the party after 1970 already constitute more than 40 percent of the CPCZ's members.

At the session it was said, above all, that a purposeful and planned selection, and comprehensive preparation of the working people for admittance to the Communist Party are an inseparable part of raising the overall standard of the party's work.

The secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee devoted itself to that question not so long ago. It noted that to date not all party agencies and organizations have comprehended the entire complex of the conclusions of the third session of the CPCZ Central Committee. In an effort at any price to fulfill quantitative intentions, they often ignore the quality of admitted candidate members. However, such shortsightedness is then logically projected in the standard of the work of the organizations into which such candidate

members come, and where they also become members. If they are then equally undemandingly steered through the candidate members' approbation period, it happens that some of them leave the party. They are, namely, literally overwhelmed by the extent of demands that are being made on communists, and by that what society expects from them at present.

There are really quite a few of these. As Klement Gottwald used to say: When tasks are growing, then--above all--demands on communists are growing too.

The years in which we live now are for us a period of maximum endeavor to utilize under considerably more difficult external economic conditions the best experiences of the party, and the abilities of communists and the other working people to find intensive ways leading to accelerating the dynamism of the national economy's development, and to maintaining the people's high standard of living. Sometimes we are not succeeding in all sectors as rapidly and as effectively as we would wish. And thus we are also forced to adopt some unpopular measures, we demand from each person that he think more about the work or sector entrusted to him, we demand more responsibility for the work carried out, and we reject egalitarianism in remuneration. Not everyone succeeds in immediately comprehending such a qualitative change in demands. To that comes the incontrovertible fact that the international political situation has become considerably more complex. For many of us, the world has become more complicated. Also for the young people who are only now entering productive life, who are learning to comprehend phenomena and events in all their logical contexts.

Under such circumstances, again and even more pronouncedly comes to the fore the need for a quality party core, which must be incessantly strengthened and renewed. It is necessary to create prerequisite on which to draw and from which to select. In other words: As we bring up young people, such will they be. And who else but communists should stand at the head of the communist education of the youth?

CSO: 2400/93

ASSEMBLY BODIES ON CHURCH ROLE IN PEACE DRIVE

AU221325 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Nov 83 p 2

[CTK report: "On the Churches' Role in the Peace Movement"]

[Text] Prague, 18 Nov (CTK)--A joint session of the Foreign Committees of the CSSR Federal Assembly's Chambers of the People and of Nations was concluded this Friday in Prague.

The agenda included a briefing on the role of churches in the current peace movement, delivered by Vladimir Janku, head of the Secretariat for Church Affairs in the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium. He stated that contemporary American imperialism also strives to misuse religion and the churches for the propaganda and ideological battle against the socialist countries. On the other hand, many supranational and national church organizations are enterprisingly sharing in the effort to avert war and to disarm. For instance, the Christian Peace Conference, with headquarters in Czechoslovakia, has been committedly fighting for peace these 25 years. A most active role is played by the Pacem in Terris Association of the Czechoslovak Catholic Clergy. This year's general assembly of the World Council of Churches [WCC] also spoke in favor of peace in Vancouver, Canada; the WCC represents 304 churches. The peace pastoral letter of the American bishops this May is, on the whole, also positive.

CSO: 2400/93

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

INDIAN CP SECRETARY RECEIVED--Josef Havlin, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, received in Prague on 3 November Neelam Rajasekhara Reddi [spelling as published], member of the Central Executive Committee and secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, on the occasion of the latter's stay in the CSSR. The two informed one another about the results which the CPCZ and the Communist Party of India are achieving in the fulfillment of the conclusions of their congresses, and "also devoted attention to the international situation and other issues connected with the work of the two communist parties." [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Nov 83 p 4 AU]

NEW SWISS ENVOY RECEIVED--Max B. Dahinden, the new ambassador of the Swiss Confederation to the CSSR, was received by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, on Friday. They discussed topical issues concerning the Czechoslovak-Swiss relations and exchanged views on the current international situation. [Text] [AU131725 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Nov 83 p 2 AU]

CRIME ROSE IN 1982--A total of 76,389 persons were sentenced for criminal offenses and transgressions of the law in the Czech lands in 1982--an increase by 4,690 compared with the year before. The share of juvenile delinquents--7.7 percent--increased most markedly, and also of women, who constituted 14.4 percent of the total number of the sentenced person. [Summary] [Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 8 Nov 83 p 1 AU]

VISITING BRITISH MINISTER--Norman Lamont, British minister of state for trade and industry, who arrived in Czechoslovakia on the occasion of the Week of British Technology in the CSSR, was received in Prague on Tuesday by Jaromir Johanes, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs. They discussed possibilities for further developing mutual relations. Some problems of the present international situation were also spoken about. The meeting was attended by John Rowland Rich, British ambassador to the CSSR. [Text] [AU131757 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Nov 83 p 2 AU]

AGREEMENT WITH CONGOLESE PARTY--On Tuesday in Prague, Michal Stefanak, deputy head of the CPCZ Central Committee International Affairs Department, received a delegation of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labor party led by Charles Madzouse [spelling as published], member of the Central Committee

and standing secretary of a department of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labor Party. The representatives of the two parties briefed each other on the activities and tasks of their parties and exchanged views on current problems of the international situation. On this occasion, they signed a General Agreement on Cooperation Between the CPCZ and the Congolese Labor Party and a protocol on cooperation between the two parties for the years 1984-1985. [Text] [AU131757 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Nov 83 p 2 A1]

CHNOUPEK RECEIVES IRANIAN ENVOY--(CTK)--Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, received Mohammed Ali Sarmadirad [name as published], ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in Prague on 15 November. Topical issues of mutual relations and some problems of the current international situation were assessed in the course of the reception. [Text] [AU171404 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Nov 83 p 2]

EQUADORAN VICE PRESIDENT RECEIVED--Prague, 18 Nov (CTK)--CSSR President Gustav Husak received this Friday Leon Roldos Aguilera, vice-president of the Republic of Ecuador, who is currently on a private visit to Czechoslovakia. During their friendly talk they assessed the current state of development of Czechoslovak-Ecuadoran contacts and stressed the bilateral interest in their all-round development. Attention was also devoted to certain topical issues of the current complicated international situation. In this connection the conviction was expressed that it is imperative to do everything to ensure peace and security in the world. The reception was attended by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs; and Frantisek Salda, head of the CSSR president's office. Horacio Sevilla Borja, ambassador of the Republic of Ecuador to the CSSR, was also present. The same day the guest from Ecuador was received by Karol Laco, CSSR deputy premier. [Text] [AU221309 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Nov 83 p 1]

LEBANESE PRESIDENT GREETED--Prague, 21 Nov (CTK)--CSSR President Gustav Husak sent Amin al-Jumayyil, president of the Republic of Lebanon, a congratulatory telegram on the occasion of the state-holiday of the latter's country. [Text] [AU231515 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Nov 83 p 1]

010: 2400/93

GOVERNMENT, CHURCH LUTHER YEAR CEREMONIES REPORTED

Politicization, Failed Effect

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 11 Nov 83 p 6

[Article by Peter-Jochen Winters datelined Berlin 10 Nov 83: "Government Luther Ceremony Without Bishop Forck"]

[Text] The "ceremony of the SED central committee, the council of state, the council of ministers and the national council of the national front of the GDR" held at the German State Opera Unter den Linden on the eve of the 500th birthday of Martin Luther was to have marked the high point of the "appropriation" of the Great Reformer by the socialist GDR. SED secretary general Honecker—who heads the state's Luther commission in the GDR—had hoped to welcome not only FRG President Carstens but also Queen Margaret of Denmark as well as the kings of Sweden and Norway along with heads and ministers of state at the Linden opera. But the "international standing with the help of Luther" equation did not come out. The high-ranking guests did not show up and that also went for the Lord Mayor of [West] Berlin who Honecker hoped would come until the last. The highest-ranking representative of a foreign country to be mentioned in the SED party newspaper as having attended was a "minister of state in the education ministry of the Republic of Finland." Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Iceland had named their East Berlin ambassadors as special emissaries to the Luther festivities. State secretary Braeutigam represented the FRG in his actual capacity as head of the FRG's permanent mission in East Berlin.

In place of government representatives from abroad, church officials "from four continents" attended the ceremony. They had come to the GDR to attend the church ceremony at Eisleben and did not think it wrong to pay their respects to the state Luther commission and its chairman. Philip Potter, the secretary general of the Ecumenical Council of Churches, represented the Council's 307 member churches throughout the world and the Archbishop of Canterbury represented the Anglican Church. The Lutherans were represented by Secretary General Mau of the Lutheran World Federation; the Orthodox Church by Metropolitan Philaret, the head of the external affairs office of the Moscow patriarchate—while Brazil, Finland, Indonesia, the Netherlands, Norway, Austria, Poland, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland, South Africa, Czechoslovakia, Tanzania, Lithuania, Hungary, the United States and Bulgaria were represented by archbishops and bishops. A first for the

GDR—a Protestant bishop from the PRC, Bishop Jing from Nanjing representing the Trinitarian movement of the evangelical churches. Not a first for the GDR—Regional Bishop Lohse, the chairman of the council of the Protestant Church in Germany.

"If Luther were alive today," Philip Potter said at a council of state reception following the ceremony, "he would speak out just as loudly as he did in his own time and would do so in all directions, in all societies." At times, he added, Luther did not speak too kindly of the princes and those who held power in his day. "I believe," Potter said, "he would call on us as well—dedicated as he was—to speak freely, openly, honestly and with love to those who lead our society." It was in this spirit, he added, that the representatives of the church had met with the representatives of the GDR on this day—"in openness, honesty and in love and with a deep concern for mankind, for justice and for world peace."

The Linden Opera ceremony took place 5 days after the events surrounding an attempt—thwarted by the authorities—to submit a peace petition to the Soviet and American embassies in East Berlin and one church official who did not attend the festivities was East Berlin's Protestant Bishop Forck. The question is whether he was not invited or whether his invitation was withdrawn on short notice or whether the bishop decided to stay away of his own accord. Some church officials in East Berlin at any rate are saying that their bishop, too, was under virtual house arrest for several hours last Friday at the Neue Grubenstrasse consistory in East Berlin. But whatever the circumstances were, the fact that the local bishop did not attend a ceremony such as the one on the eve of Luther's birthday did raise some eyebrows even if church circles have maintained that a decision was reached not to have all eight Protestant regional bishops attend the Honecker festivities but only those who have more than merely regional responsibilities. As it was, Honecker—who shared the center loge with Politburo members Stopn, Vermer, Felfe, Hager, Herrmann, Tisch and Politburo candidate Grenz—was in a position to look down on various church officials sitting in the orchestra seats: bishops Leich of Eisenach and Benke of Hardeburg representing the church Luther commission; bishops Rempel of Dresden and Hake of Greifswald representing the League of Protestant Churches in the GDR; Church President Natho of Dessau representing the Christian churches working group and former bishops Schoenherr and Krasche.

Appropriated for Socialist Principles

Honecker did not deliver the ceremonial address himself but had GDR chairman Goetting, one of the deputies in the state Luther commission and in the council of state, speak instead. To many an ecumenical visitor Goetting's address may have seemed out of date—the more so since it contained precious little of the ecumenical spirit. Goetting spanned a wide oratorical arc from Luther, a "peasants' grandson and a miner's son; a theologian and a reformator" whom he called "one of the great sons of our people" to the

arms race, the threat of nuclear war and the "peace policy of the GDR." But Goetting made no mention of hunger, disease and want—problems which concern the inhabitants of the Third World on three continents at least far more than missiles and atom bombs.

"We feel close to Luther today because he was a man who called for peace," Goetting said in tying Luther to the socialist motto of "peace must be achieved." He quoted Luther as saying that the quest for peace must also be served by the so-called sword function of the state—in other words, by "armed readiness for defense." The GDR, he said, feels it is its historic responsibility to make every effort to prevent war from originating on German soil ever again. "This also includes the capability to protect peace with the arms appropriate to the threat to peace," Goetting said, adding the following quote from Luther: "Where there is no sword to protect the peace all that is in the world will be destroyed by unrest." At this point, the GDR chairman also took aim at the "peace" groups and the pacifists in the GDR. "He said that Luther had called all these 'mad' who 'held that no Christian should ever wield the secular sword.'" Exactly how such "mad" Christians are treated in "socialist Germany" even before the Luther commemorative year comes to an end the authorities amply demonstrated last Friday in East Berlin.

In former times, Goetting said, Luther's teaching that the rulers that we are to be obeyed; his tough stand against the rebels in the Peasants' War and his contribution to the formation of the alliance between the crown and the church were aimed for the purpose of protecting the authority of the state. And how is he dealt with these days in the workers and peasants state? "In old-time Germany, Luther jubilees were a matter of the Protestant churches and the then ruling classes in the first instance," Goetting said. "Now, on the new social basis of socialism, the working class and our people as a whole are able to do real justice to the reformer—freed from the reactionary abuses of the past."

Ernst Thoenes remained silent at the State Opera ceremony, as did speak at the subsequent reception held at the council of state building. He praised the "collaboration in good faith" of the state and the church in Luther commissions and then gave an indication of why the GDR is honoring Luther during the Marx commemorative year. "By creatively appropriating and carrying forward the progressive, humanist historical heritage of the German people—in which our workers and peasants state is deeply rooted—the socialist and national consciousness of the citizens of the German Democratic Republic receives strong impulses," Thoenes said. "The year of honoring Martin Luther in 1983 in the GDR has been extremely fruitful." Pöter, the secretary general of the Ecumenical Council of Churches, had an appropriate response. "Let me propose a toast," he said, turning in Thoenes's direction, "not only to celebrate Martin Luther but to live in his spirit."

Ecumenical Events, Religious Duty

From East/Leipz. 11 Nov 83 AMG 10:15 in German 12 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Carl-Alfred Gdin datelined Leipzig 11 Nov 83: "'Carrying On the Task Set by Luther'"]

[Text] Gatherings of ecumenical congregations and church services in 130 Protestant parishes in and around Leipzig and reaching all the way to Halle and Hamburg bring to a close the celebrations in honor of the 500th birthday of Martin Luther this weekend. Churchmen of all denominations representing some 50 countries are guests in the parishes, getting to know the life they lead, talking and preaching. The church delegation includes Protestant bishops Hempel and Leich of the GDR; bishops Lohse, Class, Hild and Hansemann of the FRG as well as Minister President Rau and Minister of State Vogel. In addition, church emissaries, bishops and archbishops have come from many countries. Rome has sent Cardinal Willebrands. Catholic bishops in the GDR who are attending include cardinals Meisner and Schaffman. And then there is the deputy chairman of the GDR council of state, Mecklenburg, a replacement for Goetting who was injured in an accident in the for. These are but a few of the best-known personages. Some of the events in Mitleben on Thursday and in Leipzig on Friday. The most important address was that of the bishop of Thuringia, Leich, who heads the church Luther commission in the GDR. He issued an appeal to carry on Luther's mission by revitalizing the church.

At St Thomas Church on Friday afternoon, one of the speakers was Cardinal Willebrands. Not far from that spot--at the no longer existent Pleissenberg--the debate between Luther and the Vatican's representative, Professor Eck, had taken place and from that point on Luther's excommunication was a foregone conclusion. When Eck returned to Leipzig a year later as the Pope's emissary bearing the bull proscribing Luther he had to be protected from a stone-throwing citizenry by the authorities. But when Cardinal Willebrands, representing the Pope, spoke in St Thomas Church, the present main church in the city, the applause he received was an indication of how close together Lutherans and Catholics have grown in the interim. Virtually all the celebrations clearly showed how strong the will is to stand together as Christians after centuries of church schism. The heritage of the other denominations is no longer to be viewed as heretical but as an enrichment for the church as a whole which can only fulfill its mission, if it rediscovers its common heritage in the Christian faith.

"God Above All Things" is the slogan for these ceremonies. There it was in large letters wearing the Luther rose, Luther's coat of arms, on the great placard on the main square in Mitleben. The floodlights played on it as the celebrations began at sundown on Thursday. "To fear, to love and trust in God above all things," Luther wrote in his exegesis of the

first commandment in his little catechism. "That sentence represents the very core of Luther's belief and his contribution to the church and to the world," said Reverend Potter, the general secretary of the Ecumenical Council before an audience of 8,000 to 10,000 in Eisleben.

There was a huge crowd on the market square—which is not level but sloping as the main squares in most mountain towns of Central Germany are. The people stood in front of the floodlit late Gothic city hall and next to it St Andrew's Church, somewhat set back and many-spired. Like city hall and the beautifully rebuilt buildings on both sides of the market place, the Gothic church serves as a reminder of the wealth which Luther's place of birth and death drew in former times from copper mining. Because of the links between the past and the present; because of the presence of the hosts from the ecumenical movement and above all because of the participation by countless children the celebrations marking Luther's birthday turned out to be even more moving than the church gathering in Eisleben in mid-June. Following services in the four old churches of the city, the faithful—both Protestants and Catholics—formed a procession bearing Chinese lanterns winding its way through the dark streets to the market place. At the conclusion of the ceremony, representatives of both denominations from the Mansfeld area laid a wreath at the Luther memorial as they have every year.

On the city hall balcony a brass choir was playing. In front of city hall the leading church representatives from both parts of Germany and the ecumenical movement and the official guests of the GDR government had taken their seats. In contrast to Luther ceremonies in centuries past, the focus was not just on the past and the historic achievements of Lutheranism. Instead, they focused on the responsibilities to be assumed by Christians and by the church today. "We fear, love and trust in God, if our mutual relations are characterized by justice, love, peace and goodness," said General Secretary Potter in his ceremonial address. Potter enjoys a cordial relationship to the churches in the GDR. He managed to strike the right note which has touched many people and young people in particular—not only Christians in the GDR—these past few months. "We are living in a year," he said, "in which there have been few signs of the fear of God, of respect, of love and faith in our world. Instead, we are occupied with the task of annihilating each other. Every day, thousands of people are dying in wars waged with and without weapons. Hundreds of millions of people are teetering on the edge of starvation." Even where there is plenty of everything, people are out of work. "To trust in God means not placing our faith in ourselves or in any particular system. Luther would have no use for our modern security cult in all its forms of national economic, social and military security," Potter said. To trust in God really means "to have our security in God and to work unceasingly to promote confidence among peoples, to promote the security of all which grows out of mutual respect and love."

The ecumenical gatherings at the end of the Luther celebrations continued in Leipzig where there is enough space in the parish halls. Events in the parishes began on Friday. The two main ceremonies took place on Friday morning in St Nicholas Church and on Friday evening at St Thomas'. St Nicholas has been rebuilt in the original renaissance style, full of stucco work and lots of colors—somewhat unusual for a Protestant church. At St Nicholas, speakers were Bishop Leich and several representatives of reformed churches from Europe and America. At St Thomas in the evening, the speakers were Cardinal Willebrands, the Anglican Archbishop Runcie, the Moscow Metropolitan Philaret and the American Bishop Freus.

"The issue of preserving Luther's life's work is an issue of preserving faith and obedience toward God" as He has been revealed in Christ, Bishop Leich said. This is tantamount to a call for a fresh start. There is a need for a fresh start in achieving the unity of thought and prayer as it was lived by Luther. Only through emulation; only through personal reading of the holy Bible; through personal prayer and personal participation in the congregation can Luther's work be carried on. Luther's reformist goal was oriented toward a "Holy Apostolic Catholic church," Leich said. The "church schism was the result of the failure to accept the reformation of the church as a whole." The goal of the Reformation was by no means to split the church. But Luther did reject basing the unity of the church on secular power and institutions and sought instead to base it on spiritual unity. If the unity of the church is to be re-established, Leich said, it will be important to determine what position the separate churches take on the issue of the reciprocal condemnations they voiced in the past. At some point, the Protestant churches will have to come forward with a declaration to the effect that "its 16th century condemnations no longer apply to the Catholic church as it is today." But this could not be a unilateral statement, he added. But the deeper the insight of the separate churches is into the true "church of Jesus Christ, the nearer they will be to a determinable unity of the church." Leich called on the churches to find their way back to the unity of heeding the Bible and being obedient. It was not enough for the Protestant church to revere the Last Supper on theoretical grounds. "When will belief in obedience lead to a service with word and sacrament in the structuring of the service in our congregations," Leich asked.

Both Christians and the churches are called upon to focus on the concrete core of faith in all aspects of life. This also applies to "the commitment of the church among Christians to the end of preserving peace among the nations." "Redemption in Christ keeps alive our hope in this seemingly hopeless situation," Leich said. It supports the certainty that God "in all His power can help and preserve as long as we address Him in prayer."

2478
155: 2300/122

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PARTY CANDIDACY OF YOUTH EXAMINED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian Aug-Sep 83 pp 85-87

[Article by Werner Hannig "Accepting Youth in the German Socialist Unity Party"]

[Text] The 10th Congress of the German Socialist Unity Party, which was held in 1981, emphasized that "the constant growth of the party's leading role in every sphere of society...is an objective necessity. It is in this way that we can guarantee the political stability and dynamics of socialism."

This statement is also applicable to the political work conducted in youth circles, and from two points of view: on one hand we must realize again and again the influence of the party among the youth, and on the other hand the youth, particularly their political organization, is the most important source for recruitment into the ranks of the communists.

The 10th Congress clearly stated that the communist education of youth as a whole must be continued at a higher level, and the revolutionary unity of the generations must be solidified. Indispensable to this activity, according to the resolution, is the conscious collaboration of the Free German Youth and the pioneer organization named after Ernst Thälmann. The Party Congress affirmed the successful principle that we must have confidence in the youth, entrust them with responsible work, and achieve for them a socialist life style. It is on these principles that the youth policy concept of the German Socialist Unity Party has been built.

In the realization of the principles a key role is played by the further strengthening of the FDJ [Free German Youth] as a party auxiliary and militant reserve, and the increasing influence it exercises on the youth. At the recommendation of the 10th Party Congress in 1981 the 11th Congress of the FDJ put as its central goal to offer help to every young person to adopt a communist life concept. We regard such intellectual activity by the FDJ as the main path for the education of new party members. Erich Honecker, the secretary general of the German Socialist Unity Party's Central Committee, stated in a speech he gave at the FDJ Congress that "our party can always count on the militant reserves...It is here that the young communists grow up, and it is here that our party trains its recruits."

Of course, the party policy that serves to secure the peace and to benefit the working people is the main factor in keeping the young people flowing into the party. By virtue of this policy our party has achieved great respect in the eyes of the youth. But passage from the FDJ into the party is not automatic. The party must carry out purposeful ideological work among the active FDJ members, and help them in becoming communists.

Preparation for Membership Acceptance

Our party adheres strictly, of course, to the Leninist principle of individual selection and acceptance of members. The organizational rule is: "Every worker may become a member of the German Socialist Unity Party who recognizes the program of the party and its organizational rules, participates actively in the building of a developed socialist society in the German Democratic Republic, is active in one party organization or another, submits to party resolutions, carries these out, and regularly pays the established membership dues."

Accordingly, as the party of the working class and all the working people, our party consciously regulates its social composition; it is solidly present in every worker collective and generation without significantly increasing the ranks numerically.

When the FDJ is responsible by regulation and by party commission for the strengthening of communist ranks, it serves at the same time its own development. Active work in the youth federation is the most important task for every young party member. Between 1976 and 1981, that is, between the 9th and the 10th Congresses of the German Socialist Unity Party, more than 350,000 new members were accepted into the party; three-fourths of them were under 25 years of age and were FDJ members. Consequently, the present mass initiative of the FDJ has been formulated as a task of the so-called "peace pledge": "our best members will be trained for acceptance into the party of the working class."

It is of great importance that most of the FDJ members are in everyday contact with the party members, whereby a significant role is played by party officials and older party members. In the training and acceptance of candidates, the party and the FDJ deal in particular with those between the ages of 18 and 19 years--in 1982 almost one-half of the party's total candidates came into the party from this age group. As a result, one out of eight in the age group between 18 and 25 years belongs to the party. Thus the enormous strength of 300,000 young communists is available to the FDJ in its own ranks.

Since the FDJ trains primarily young workers for membership candidacy, this contributes significantly to the development of the party's social composition. Three-fourths of the candidates accepted between the 9th and 10th Party Congress were workers. An important role is played by the youth brigades in the training of prospective candidates. The guideline applies with special emphasis here that an active nucleus of communists must be

created in every workers' collective. With proper distribution of the party's strength and the acceptance of young workers we achieved having communists in 92 percent of the 40,000 youth brigades. Party members working in the workers' collectives exercise the greatest influence on the workers' collective. It has a particularly great effect when the collective leaders are party members. The cooperation of party and state officials, the cooperation of the party's veterans and the name-givers of the youth brigades, as well as the conversations of the megye and district party committees and the leaders of the basic organizations with the young workers help considerably in assuring recruitment for the party from the ranks of the working class.

Education of the Young Party Members

Experiences show that an important phase in the formation of young communists takes place in the party itself. Therefore, it is worthy of note that in the opinion of many young party members they were dealt with more intensively before their acceptance than during their one-year of candidacy or after their acceptance into the party.

Although the organizational rules of the party prescribe equal rights and obligations for all members, it is justified in the case of the youth to emphasize the special responsibility of the basic organizations. On one hand, due to their age and the brevity of the time spent in the party, the young militants of our party are not too familiar with the practice of party work; and on the other hand, they work at particularly responsible posts of ideological work, conducted in youth circles, and as a matter of fact they make up the backbone of the FDJ. It is not a question of creating special conditions for the young party members but of their concrete participation in the inner life of the party and of the well-considered individual support necessary to do this. That is, of assisting them, above all, in the course of practical party work to adopt the program of the party and its organizational rules, and to understand party resolutions.

What kind of work experience did the basic organizations of the party acquire in relation to the young party members? The leading bodies of the party at various levels handle youth policy as a component part of policy as a whole, but at the same time as a characteristic area of its own, and the work related to young party members is put on the agenda at certain periods of time. In many places, the practice of making some member of the party leadership responsible for carrying out youth policy and for work related to young communists has proved successful.

It is of particular importance that every young person should receive personal and concrete help to be able to actively participate in party life. In this, great responsibility falls especially on the party groups. It is becoming more and more usual for new party members to speak out at membership meetings in the first months of their membership. The support of experienced communists is requested for their preparation.

Of course, the young communists have relatively little knowledge about the history of Marxism-Leninism and the German Socialist Unity Party. Thus

their Marxist-Leninist instruction is particularly important. They must acquire the substance of the party program and the organizational rules, they must learn to understand and apply the essence of party resolutions. Therefore, a great deal depends on the level of the instruction in which every candidate takes part. Such courses are frequently conducted by the basic organizations or the secretaries of the district-city party committees. Week-end instruction has also proved successful because it gives more time for discussion, and is favorable to an open and candid atmosphere.

Party assignments are of great importance. Here, of course, it is not form but substance that is important. The party assignments must above all be specific and realizable. Fulfillment must be regularly supervised by the party collective. It is important that party assignments should not consist of obvious matters, but of duties which demand effort. Many assignments are for political activity to be expressed in the FDJ and other social organizations. In many party organizations it has proved successful to entrust experienced communists, with the help of young party members, to promote the fulfillment of the assignment. It is frequently the sponsors who undertake the role. In many party organizations it has proved successful to arrange conferences for young communists. These include the district-city conferences of young party members, conferences of party committees at various levels with the young candidates, and the communists or pioneer leaders working in the youth brigades.

Planned cadre development is also a part of the education of young party members. During work conducted in the youth federation we prepare young communists to carry out party, state, trade union and economic functions.

As charged by the German Socialist Unity Party, therefore, the Free German Youth conducts wide-ranging work in order that new militants be led into the party from the ranks of the FDJ, particularly of the young brigades. Within the party, too, the young communists are given special attention, for their development determines to a great extent the future of the party.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Party Thinking in Perspective

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 23 Sep 83 p 2

[Article by B. L.]

[Text] The leading topic of yesterday's meeting of the PZPR Provincial Committee [KW] Executive Board in Torun was the assessment of the initiation of institutional anti-inflationary and economization plans--an important factor in the increase of market and export production, and in the prevention of a drop in real wages. In the first phase--with the broad participation of various labor groups--those plans, which were judged by party organizations, were worked out; the next stage was a preliminary assessment of the results of the fulfillment of this undertaking.

From the analyses and evaluations which were conducted, it is evident--the KW Executive Board stated--that the economization and anti-inflationary activities were accepted, on the whole, with the understanding of the work forces. In the majority of the factories, concrete results were secured. The economization results, which will be achieved this year in the Elana Synthetic Fibers Mill, Ema-Apator Electro-Mechanical Works, Unitra-Toral Electronics Works, construction combine, Metalchem Chemical Equipment Works, Polchem Inorganic Industry Works or Towimor Ship Equipment Works in Torun, as well as the Grudziadz Stomil Auto Tire Works and POiE [Pomerania Metal-Working and Enameling] Plant, are shaping up in the range of 200 million zloty. Elana alone, utilizing (among other things) production waste materials, gains over 136 million zlotys, and Ema-Apator--36 million zlotys. Numerous factories are successfully implementing the planned undertakings in the area of anti-import and market production development: management of waste materials, an increase in labor productivity and better management of energy and fuels. Unfortunately, there are also instances of insubstantial and not very definite tasks. Among others, these weak points comprise the plans worked out in the Grudziadz and Brodnick State Agricultural Bank [PBR], in the Dairy Equipment Factory [FAM] and in the Hospital Supplies Factory in Chelm, in the gelatin factory in Brodnica or the J. Sniadecki

Chemical Works in Torun. Experiments were also taken up--for the time being not very successfully--at linking incentive programs to economic effects resulting from anti-inflationary and economization principles.

The accomplishment of the plans would bring about greater results if they were always correlated to the tasks of production and reform mechanisms. The identification of economization ideas with reasonable work, consolidation in the consciousness of the individual worker of compliance between his interests and anti-inflationary and economization activities--the Executive Board confirmed--is important. Rationalization of employment should also be an important element in the plan.

The Executive Board of the KW PZPR accurately defined a series of substantial results, the accomplishment of which should contribute to greater effectiveness of both programs, since enormous possibilities and reserves still exist in all economic units. As was strongly emphasized in the conclusions, establishments should especially analyze the programs again (with the participation of representatives of the National Bank of Poland [NBP] and the Treasury Department), correct and make concrete [their] tasks, eliminating those that result from normal production activities. The creation, among work forces, of a climate favorable to general economization as well as a systematic control of the implementation of the programs, which would be linked to the analysis of their influence on the execution of the socioeconomic plan, is important.

Information on labor force resources and the employment policy in Torun province was presented to the Executive Board members. This problem--in the contest of the none too optimistic prognosis for the upcoming years--is important, for with a general deficiency of cadre, industry, and construction, excess numbers of workers (in relation to productivity and production growth) are employed.

Public Initiative in Party

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 23 Sep 83 p 1

[Article by (n)]

[Text] The readers conveyed not only many critical remarks, but also initiatives on agriculture, food management, the flow of consumer goods to the marketplace, and trade and service labor organizations, during yesterday's turn at the editorial telephone by the KW PZPR secretary in Katowice, Comrade Jan Rachwalik. The subject most frequently broached was production quality and, in this, an especially large number of comments dealt with the bad quality of dairy products and bread. There were also comments on its waste. Various remedial measures were suggested--among other things, an increase in the smallscale production of bread and a broadening of the network of small neighborhood bakeries.

From the numerous messages from the readers, it appeared that a good deal of the decisions which were made and which deal with operating hours and

trade organizations were done so without the agreement of the concerned customers, of resident self-government bodies.

Many doubts and questions were associated with the distribution of the continually meager pool of industrial goods. There was no shortage of issues demanding individual intervention.

Residents from all over the province were phoning in--there were conversations not only with those living in the Upper Silesian Industrial Region, but also with residents from Raciborz and its surroundings, or Poreba. All of the comments and issues were noted down. Some of them were cleared up at once; the solution of others requires deeper investigation, corresponding decisions, and the undertaking of intervention by competent institutions.

We will return to the details related to the encounter in the columns [of our newspaper] as soon as possible.

Party Meeting Interview

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 23 Sep pp 3, 4

[Article by Halina Mamok]

[Text] We usually do not share our problems in the journalist shop with the readers. This time, however, we wish to depart from this rule. This is not only because the author of this very material is himself not a journalist, but also because the manner of his emerging [as a journalist] is no less important than the contents [of the article].

We are intent on presenting, in the columns of the party newspaper, profiles of people whose stature and personality earn them particular respect in their community. How [are we] to find them? How can we be certain that the journalist's choice is right? And why--we asked ourselves--can we not turn the decision over to those who will later be directly verifying their choice in the community? That is how I came to be at a meeting of the basic party organization of the machinist's shop at the Batory Steelworks.

Record of a Heated Discussion

[Journalist] I am proposing to my comrades a form of participation in the editing of the newspaper which, even for us, is something new. You will decide who from among you deserves public presentation. Naturally, it would be simpler for me to turn to the KZ [Plant Committee] secretary and ask him to put me in touch with a worker at the steelworks who could be a sure model and have party stature; however, there is always the danger that this would be a subjective choice. You are better acquainted with one another,

and observe each other's attitudes daily. I know that this is not an easy task, for it demands an evaluation of the attitude of friends by friends. I think that the principle which should guide such a choice in the party circle is the principle that the one chosen is not the best because he is a party member, but that he belongs to the party because he is good, and often even the best in his community. It is also probably worth it for our discussion to accompany a reflection on the criteria that distinguish a party member in the workers' collective.

[Wladyslaw Gosciniak] It is very risky to typify someone for presentation in the newspaper. We have the example of one of our friends who, because of a single word said in an interview, is laughed at by the people to this day. This was 15 years ago and, at times, people at the steelworks still point the finger at him today.

[Journalist] You are acquainted, comrades, after all, with your own community and know how your declarations might be received in it. I guarantee you that you will obtain this material for authorization, because if I present this discussion inaccurately, thus giving cause for the mocking of your colleague, I can avoid a repeat visit to the steelworks during the year; but you will remain here and will feel the results of that which appeared in the newspaper. I remember this. Anyway, there are two sides to such a problem. One is journalistic responsibility for honesty in the report. The other, is your responsibility for the choice made. After all, his non-party friends in the department will evaluate him. The point is so that you will not have to be ashamed before them because of the comrade whose profile will appear in the newspaper.

[Stanislaw Mucha] It would probably be more pleasant for us if we could read in TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA--which many people at the steelworks buy--about one of us. I liked the statement: he is a party member because he is good. We probably will find such a comrade who, after appearing in the article, will be admitted into the shop, and the comrade editor into the steelworks.

[Rajnhold Lukasek] We are now celebrating 110 years of the Batory Steelworks. Not long ago, we proposed that a candidate, because of this occasion, be recognized as "Meritorious Worker of Batory Steelworks." The collective determined this. I think that we can safely propose it. This is among ourselves.

[S. Mucha] You are thinking of Swierczynski.

[R. Lukasek] He would be the most appropriate man.

[Edward Pacon] I have nothing against Swierczynski and he certainly deserves distinction if we are to choose only one. But also think of Rygus Mlody for the candidacy--a very fine workman and lathe operator. He operates the vertical lathe and, what is more, that has its own dignity among us.

[W. Gosciniak] Comrade Swierczynski is a worker of many years at the steelworks. It is not without cause that we propose him for the title of "Meritorious Worker of Batory Steelworks."

[Journalist] Try, comrades, to substantiate your proposal more, remembering also that you are choosing from among party members.

[R. Lukasek] Swierczynski is a specialist of high caliber, a conscientious worker and--as we say--a fine son.

[Jan Ignacy] And, most of all, he is a real human being.

[Well, Gerard, you won't be able to get out of it now--someone shouts in the direction of comrade Swierczynski.

[S. Mucha] Listen, perhaps we could propose two--one younger, one older?

"But will the newspaper fit it in?" the question arises from the hall.

[Journalist] Comrades, you decide on taking the responsibility upon yourselves.

[E. Pacon] As a member of the party collective, Comrade Rygus has good contacts with non-party members. In my opinion, this is very important because, after all, we are not alone in this community.

[R. Lukasek] How is Swierczynski among the people--this should be asked around in the department. Really, everyone here knows him.

[Franciszek Stawicki] One goes to him as to an old friend. He knows how to cooperate with people, from the young to the old; he knows how to pass on his skills to them and he really executes every job conscientiously. This must also be said--he is a member of our Executive Board.

[Stanislaw Rachwal (first secretary of the KZ)]: The departmental collective selected Comrade Swierczynski for the award of "Meritorious Worker of the Batory Steelworks." But there was still a difficult road [to travel] from this proposition to a decision on the recognition of distinction, already beyond your department. The workers' council passed judgment on the proposals according to rigid criteria; he met these criteria, and factory unions accepted his candidacy. Therefore, he found approval not only in his own department, but also in the opinion of the representatives of the entire steelworks.

[R. Lukasek] We are living at a time when it is not easy to be a party member. During the crisis period, he did not abandon his chosen path, and he was not afraid of criticism of the party. No one could find any fault with him.

[S. Mucha] What he did, he did for the public welfare. He was a real man in every situation.

[R. Lukasek] He does not take profit into consideration. His attitude stems from patriotism, even though this sounds unfashionable.

[J. Pawlik] When we speak about party attitudes, it must also be noted that some people resigned from the party in these difficult times. Rygus stayed, even though it certainly must not have been easy at a time when the party was so sharply criticized. He took up the duties of collective party member when his comrades were not eager to perform party duties. Nothing can be held against him at work. On the contrary, there are few who--when the need arises--would willingly stand in for a fellow worker in a different position. Both skill and a sense of social responsibility are necessary.

[Journalist] In characterizing Comrade Rygus, the statement was made earlier that he has good communication with non-party members. What does this mean in practice?

[J. Pason] The party is often attacked in discussions. He is not afraid to converse with people who believe that everything all around us is bad. But all party members are capable of doing this, and some of them take an attitude that is similar to the majority in such situations. Rygus knows how to defend our party although, many times, he is one against more than a dozen. He has influence, and he works in a high position, with a responsible opinion in the department.

And while a period of silence set in. The discussion seems to be slowly running out of steam.

[Journalist] I see that the choice has been made, although everyone did not share their opinion. Would you, comrades, still like to add something to those opinions expressed here, or to evaluate this method of seeking out those people whose profile deserves to be presented publicly in the newspaper?

[J. Pawlik] I believe that we will not be ashamed of our choice before the work force. We can count on that.

[August Zieliński] Having a person appear in the newspaper is certainly a distinction, but it can also do harm--the drift [of the story] from the beginning of the discussion returns. Different people can take this in different ways.

[J. Białobłak] Complete faith in the party newspaper is still lacking among non-party members, and the mere fact that profiles of these people will appear in *PRACOWNIA KOSMOSIŁCZA* could be a cause for unpleasantness.

[J. Jędrzej] I would not agree. What are we afraid of?

[J. Białobłak] That is not the point because, if we are afraid, we would not be here today. It is a question of the perception of the article by the people.

[J. Burawa] I believe that we should not be apprehensive about such a statement, and we have a few examples of this in the steelworks. It cannot be said that the party did not have prospects for the distinction. Among the workers elected, there were, however, few non-party members, and we proposed

to honor mainly party members. This--one must tell oneself--even testifies to the weak points in our work with non-party colleagues. We have, in the enormous majority, a conscientious work force; people who work with devotion, not inveighing against the party--workers who, without party cards, are true co-achievers of our program. However, we have observed a curious occurrence now with the distinctions on the occasion of the steelworks' anniversary, of which I already spoke. Social organizations, as well as the workers' council, are active in our place and non-party members constitute the majority [of these]. This group determined the factory distinctions and, of the 12 awarded titles of "Meritorious Worker of the Batory Steelworks," party members received the title in 8 cases. Therefore, it is evident that their attitudes have the wider acceptance. There is also the matter of credibility. Are we not contributing to the building of credibility through today's meeting? We have determined who deserves to be presented in the party newspaper. In case of unpleasantness, we must defend these comrades. Anyway, I believe that they will defend themselves, but doubts voiced by comrades have a deeper meaning. They are linked with various attitudes. You could have been the most conscientious and [still] gotten your hand slapped. Is this attitude completely a thing of the past?

[P. Lukasek] Exactly, we must defend these comrades if it will be necessary. We must clearly declare this to ourselves.

[W. Gosciniak] And in that case it will also be up to us to defend the credibility of the newspaper. [The two] will be linked with one another.

[Zygmunt Zielinski] It happens that a person can be harmed even by the truth.

[Antoni Plachetka] Because it is so that, whoever might be typified, someone can always have some sort of "but." You can never please everybody.

When I returned to the steelworks on the next day, yesterday's meeting was already known about in the machine shop. Not everyone wants to speak with the journalist, but they do not dispute the choice of the party organization. I seek the opinion on Comrade Swierczynski in the work brigade.

What Are People Saying in the Department?

"He is a good kind of guy, friendly, good at work," says Pawel Skrzypek. "Now he is at home I can't say because we know each other only at the steelworks. I know that he is a party member, but it is difficult for me to judge him on that basis."

"He is a worker of many years and a professional and, in comparison with all of his distinctions, this should be of primary importance," Franciszek Jambor asserts. "Swierczynski came to the department as a young boy without a whisker on his face and he works there to this day."

"He is edgy, as we all are today. He also manages at times to blow up," Pawel Skrzypek adds, "and [makes demands] on his own, but this is without anger. Perhaps he sometimes even offends the people in the hall,

because when the damage is done, he speaks openly, without mincing any words."

"He manages to pass on a lot to the youth," Wojciech Jagielo, the youngest member in the conversation, joins in. "He now has a young boy from the second rank who will certainly benefit greatly from him. He [Swierczynski] will calmly explain how to make repairs and explain what doesn't belong."

"Ma'am, would you write it if someone said something bad about him?" asks Roman Pietruszka. "It would not fit in with what the party organization is saying."

"I would write it; not all of the opinions must agree, but they must be substantiated. I am attempting to confront the choice of the party organization--to elucidate [the choice]. And how do you, gentlemen, assess the possibility of the newspaper's reaching the people whose attitudes are worth presenting?"

"Why not? Good, conscientious people must be sought out," says Pawel Skrzypek, "but won't we do Swierczynski harm by this--that he will be written up in the newspaper? We are not ashamed of him, but this can be taken in a variety of ways."

"And it cannot be said," adds Franciszek Jambor, "that the best people are not among the party members. There are many good, longtime workers here."

"And if," I ask, "I turned to your brigade, where the majority are non-members, would you take up an evaluation of colleagues, in the end, by colleagues?"

"Perhaps it would indeed be difficult," those conversing with me admit after a moment of reflection.

It is more difficult to start up a conversation with the coworkers of Comrade Rygus. His alternate on the machine is working today on another shift.

"He is one of the younger ones here," one of the workers decides to talk, not giving his last name. "He is very polite, accomodating and friendly. Anyway, one is much like another. Certainly, I would not be ashamed of this choice. You never hear about Rygus ruining something at work; he works accurately. I don't look at whether he is or is not a party member, but at what kind of human being he is. He is a fine fellow. He has a family, two children, and treats his elders with respect."

Coming out of the hall, I approach still one more worker.

"The party organization made its choice correctly. I have known my fellow worker Swierczynski for 40 years. It is rare for him, over so many years, to have been late for work. He is a very conscientious person. It is a shame that he was voted for recognition so late. Our coworker Rygus is

considerably younger. He works at a responsible position in the department--responsible, because full swing production is taking place there. He knows his job and he is a man of integrity."

I saved my conversation with the principal hero of this report for the end. I am looking for something in it which is more difficult to perceive from the outside, but that determines which attitude a man takes up in his community and by what kinds of values he is guided in life.

Visiting Card No 1: A Sense of Worth Derived From Work

Despite everything, Comrade Gerard Swierczynski is uneasy about how it will be after the printing of the article in the newspaper. He is already such a personality that he takes the opinion of others about himself very much to heart. He would probably fall ill if it would happen that someone could accuse him of something; because it must be important for a person always to be in good shape with his obligations and with the people. Perhaps that is why, because he himself is so sensitive to these matters, he is very careful as a work brigade leader not to alienate the people, by an unnecessary word, not only from himself, but also from the factory, the group in which they are working. It is no great skill to deride someone, point out his errors to him, but it is an achievement to get to know a person, to be aware of what is within his abilities, and know how to draw out a sense of self-esteem from him. How to make demands so that responsibilities are fulfilled, and not to offend a person--that is the question to which there were as many different answers as there are people in the brigade. People here are ambitious, and experience teaches Swierczynski that one can always gain more by working calmly. There is only one thing that he cannot tolerate--when someone wants to loaf around. Then he sometimes even loses his temper.

He has trained more than a dozen students already. He has the habit of beginning his first conversation with the trainee with this: "Remember, you will have to get married some day and this factory will be your bread in the future." After all, this is the way life is and one must take care that the work gives a person satisfaction, and this will be only when he cares about what he does. He [Swierczynski] is a steelworker and probably would not transfer to another factory. The work is irregular and every day there are different problems in the repair shop. He certainly was able, somehow, to pass on to his students this interest in the factory since they sometimes come after school in order to thank him, and they recognize him on the street. It pleases him that those who were trained by him are already work brigade leaders in other departments, and some are even directors.

Swierczynski was given the duty of work brigade leader in 1979, after 36 years of work, at first in the same department. He cannot say that this did not give him satisfaction; however, it is not the position that is important, but the opinion of his professional competence. Regardless of the position at which one works, one can gain a sense of worth if the person knows that he is doing his work well. Precisely such a well-founded sense of worth and atmosphere among the people are, in the opinion of Comrade Swierczynski,

two of the most important issues. This is why the books which he received as a reward and his inclusion in the pages of achievement, and the letters of praise and the title of "Socialist Labor Leader" rank with the Gold and Silver Service Cross, or the title of "Meritorious Worker of the Batory Steelworks"--because they are an expression of his work.

During his 16-year party training, Comrade Gerard Swierczynski suggested membership in the party to three people, being guided primarily by their attitude toward work. And he was not disappointed.

Visiting Card No 2: It Was Simpler To Resign

The times were also critical when Comrade Zenon Rygus joined the party in 1970. He remembers that, at that time, he asked the then secretary for time to reflect, all the more since he was fresh out of school. He made a decision in a year. He had a place to take his doubts; his father was the first secretary of the party organization in one of the departments in the steelworks. It was already more difficult to settle the indecisions 10 years later. He was not prepared for such a crisis in the party and he even wrote a request to the Executive Board to cancel his party membership, but he wavered as to whether or not he should hand it in. The thought came to him that resignation was the simplest way out. His wife, who is not a party member, asked a very sound question--what will it do for you, how did you make the decision to join, and be consistent with yourself. His father reached back to his experiences in family conversations. After the war, he came to Silesia with Leszczynski; when he left in the morning for the steelworks, he did not come home until Zenon and his brother were already asleep. How much better--he explained--are the conditions you have. This did not happen by itself. The easiest thing to do is to let it go; we have to work at it so that things will be the way we want to see them. Perhaps, until the end, this still would not have convinced him, but he saw that what was to have been in the changes was not any sort of solution. Therefore, he did not turn in his membership card and agreed to accept the position of party member. He believed that something could still be done. He sees that he was not mistaken after all.

It is continually difficult to speak with people. Many are still in favor of "no," although the reasons are often various. He does not avoid discussions when he sees that someone wants to hear out his reasons, even if he did not share them. This is the minimum required for a discussion. It is easier for him to speak with his contemporaries. He feels he is in an inferior position with respect to the elders, for how can he refute the point: you are young, what do you know about life? Yet, even in these discussions, it can be seen how the situation is changing. The subject of goods and stores has gone off to the side, and politics are discussed more often.

The defense of the party in conversations with coworkers is one of the results of the choice which Comrade Rygus made, keeping his party membership card. No less important is the awareness that the people judge the party as a whole through the way they judge the party member at work. Now more than

at any other time they are paying attention to this, and the point is not to give them reasons to criticize the party in this way. Admittedly, he works by the job, but there are--as allegedly trifling details, which the quota does not include, but which everyone sees. All the more, those who work on the vertical lathe in the department are observed especially attentively.

Comrade Gerard Swierczynski and Comrade Zenon Rygus are not the only heroes of this report, although, by the will of their party organizations, they have been found to be prominent. However, I think that the attitudes and experiences which teach them, and the criteria according to which they are judged in their community, are no less important heroes.

Current Financial-Market Situation

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 23 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by J.A.D.]

[Text] At yesterday's session, the Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee [KW] in Katowice was informed of the formation of the current financial market situation in the province of Katowice, along with an explanation of the factors affecting the demand and supply of goods as well as the efficiency of the organization and operation of trade, supplemented by suggestions that arose during the course of the discussion.

The financial-market situation in our province during the last few months (July, August) was characterized by a high level of profits by the population and a checking of outlays for the purchase of goods and services. The growth in profits was brought about by a continuation--by various enterprises--of raises, rewards and numerous payments from the work force fund. As a result of the continually growing payments of awards, unfavorable proportions between the increase in the average wages and the growth of labor production have remained. In industry, the growth rate of average wages in the population in July were determined to a large degree by lowered outlays for the purchase of goods and services, connected with--among other things--the holiday-vacation season as well as with a decrease in the number of active trade-service institutions. As a result of the maintenance of low supplies of market goods, a steep increase in the population's funds was noted.

During the period of the last 8 months, the situation in the food market was characterized by a further stabilization in demands for the majority of articles, a drop in the supply of some of these articles, as well as a minimal drop in reserves. The quantitative supply of industrial goods, during the period of 7 months, improved considerably. However, the public demand for some of them, as before, was not met; this concerns automatic washing machines, freezers, refrigerators and furniture.

The level of the volume of the flow of food articles to the marketplace is nearing the level of demand. When it comes to industrial goods, the situation is turning out otherwise, where the basic conditions of unmet demand are the fault of the producer. Occasional low efficiency of the industrial market, or trade, is the result of little industrial elasticity in changes of the production and trade profile in the application of more effective forms of sale, which results from too slow a conversion in its structure and too free a process of initiation of economic reform laws in basic market production and trade institutions.

The Executive Board also heard information concerning party activities in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] after the First PRON Congress. Popularization of the idea of PRON was furthered by numerous initiatives by party members, working in this movement, which earned broad acceptance since they came out of public need. The appointment of party teams by echelons on PRON matters, the composition of which was made up of party members working in this movement, as well as the organization of instruction on the subject of the role and tasks of PRON in the democratic socialist system, among other things, played an important role in internal political and organizational party activities. Generally, party activity undertaken in PRON after the First Congress has been conducted satisfactorily.

The secretary of the KW PZPR in Katowice, Comrade Marian Rauszer, conducted the Executive Board deliberations.

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MORE ON PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Katowice Party Secretary Interview

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 27 Sep 83 p 3

[Interview with Jan Rachwalik, Katowice Province PZPR secretary, by Natalia Paslowska and Andrzej Wozniak]

[Text] Jan Rachwalik once again is on the telephone with TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA readers: How much longer are we going to clothe farmers in gold? We planted a second crop, but very little sprouted. Drought! A one-half-kilogram loaf of bread would be enough for a family, but people are buying four, five loaves. For the chickens! What is happening with dairy products? Scandalous quality!

Such, for example, are some of the dilemmas, observations and comments relayed by TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA's readers when telephoned by Comrade Jan Rachwalik, Katowice PZPR Provincial Committee [KW] secretary. After an elapse of some time, we resumed the very popular direct talks between party activists and the readers of our paper. Last Thursday, during the course of 4 hours with the editors, 45 readers were telephoned. Because of their importance, some of the problems that were raised turned into more extensive dialogs.

Concerning Farmers' Problems

Here is an example of such a problem from a reader in the gmina of Mierzecice.

[Question] Increases in purchase prices had been implemented, and everyone started calculating how much more a farmer would make if he were paid 18 zlotys for a liter of milk. But that is the winter and not summer price.

[Answer] Prices are always differentiated. After all, as shown in practice, one-third more milk is purchased in the summer than in the winter.

[Question] That is true, Mr Secretary, so long as the cows have fresh fodder. But here in Mierzecice we have had a drought for 2 years now. We sowed second crops but very little sprouted. We already have fed winter hay to the animals in August.

[Answer] But it was not that bad in other regions of the country.

[Question] That is true, and that is why we believe prices should be differentiated not only in accordance with the season of the year but also in accordance with local conditions. Where things are exceptionally tragic, the disproportion between the winter and summer price of milk should be smaller, 2 instead of 4 zlotys.

[Answer] We will bring this problem up in the Central Committee and at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy.

It is not as rosy in the rural areas as it seems to be, for example, to the reader who asked angrily how much longer are we going to cloth farmers in gold.

[Answer] Let us not look at the farm areas exclusively through the earnings prism of "chimney-sweeps" because we have such people in the cities also. Those farmers whose incomes are barely equal to a worker's wages supply 60 percent of the food. If it were that easy to "get gold" in the farm areas, then we would have no problems with taking over abandoned farms. If you please, such farms are available.

A Way To Get Meat

[Question] I designed the community of single-family homes opposite "Rozdzienia." One-half of its residents raise one thing or another, not only chickens but also pigs and, of course, rabbits. A record-holder, who had 70 animals on 500²m, declared that he would like to increase that to 200. However, veterinary service is needed. Disease has already taken hold, and it turns out that there is a shortage of vaccine. Should the veterinarians in the city concern themselves only with dogs? Please visit me and see for yourself the meat reserves that exist in home breeding.

[Answer] Thank you. I will take you up on your invitation.

[Question] I am calling from Ruda Slaska. I am wondering, Mr Secretary, if I should buy 200 loaves of bread and dry them.

[Answer] Because of the price increases projected for next year?

[Question] Yes, but not with the thought of family need. A half loaf of bread a day is enough for us. However, I have chickens, ducks and a pig. Thus, every day I buy 4 to 5 kilograms. In my stairwell alone there are three such allotment holders as I. I observe that at least one-fourth of the bread that is baked is used as fodder. Of course, this is a waste of bread.

[Answer] We agree. However, the given percentage is greatly overstated.

[Question] Then why are there no cereals in the free market?

[Answer] I believe that shortly we will decontrol grain products. However, this is linked to the price of bread and other food products. Proposals for such regulations, which will be implemented next year, will be presented shortly to the public for consultation.

Concerning Poor Quality

Several of our readers had a different view than that of our last reader concerning bread. Here is a typical voice.

[Question] I throw away partly cut loaves of bread because by the second or third day they are inedible. Can we afford to do this?

[Answer] Certainly not. That is why we have initiated efforts to increase the production of smaller bread loaves. Of course, not everyone has to buy a 2-kilogram loaf of bread. Katowice's Spolem has started to bake bread weighing fewer grams. We also will expand more so than heretofore the sale of bread on Saturdays and Sundays. Most discarded bread loaves are purchased on Fridays. We want to expand the network of small neighborhood bakeries that are equipped with electric ovens. The proper equipment already is being produced in Katowice Province. We also support the formation of private bakeries.

[Question] Providing that they do not post a sign "bread all sold out" after being open for a few hours.

[Answer] Of course, these bakeries should also offer bread on Saturdays.

The following is on another subject concerning quality.

[Question] I returned from Mazur. We did not die of hunger; on the contrary. Those excellent cheeses and the sour cream that we brought back with us retained their freshness and taste despite the long journey. But here in Katowice Province the quality of dairy products is getting worse. Why?

[Answer] Indeed, it is bad. However, quality has improved in Katowice itself since the local dairy was overhauled. And I believe the problem will be resolved next year when the dairy combine in Tychy is placed in operation. At that time conditions will be right to modernize the older, smaller plants.

[Question] On this same subject, why is it not possible to obtain milk for the children in School No 34 in Ligota?

[Answer] We will investigate this immediately. Children must have milk.

[Question] I am calling from Raciborz. I will not talk about my ups and downs with the poor quality of a newly purchased camera and of purchased mattresses because one had to view the problem of quality on a larger scale. However, it seems to me that we are seeing a general decline in the level of quality of food as well as of industrial products. It is high time that plants take effective action regarding quality. I am a party member, and it

seems to me that quality should be one of the top priority tasks of our organization.

[Answer] I endorse that postulate in its entirety.

The Functioning of Commerce

Most of the telephone calls about commerce concerned supplies. However, there were fewer calls than 1 year ago, especially regarding food and the way different stores operate. The number of comments in this area was especially great.

[Question] I am a worker at Dispensary No 6 in Chorzowice. In the Gwarecki-Slask community we had an excellent operating system for the two meat markets located there. One market was open all week up to the noon hour, and the other market was open in the afternoon. All meat designated for sale was placed in the given store at one time. Even when I was number 30 in line, I knew that I would not leave the counter with a "rain check." This system has changed since July, to the sorrow of the residents. He complained to the Department of Commerce, but without success.

[Answer] The majority opinion should decide. This is a problem that could be arbitrated satisfactorily by the residents' self-government or the local PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] cell. Did you try to contact them?

[Question] In truth, I have not.

[Answer] Too bad.

[Question] I am the mother of a sick child. Why are there no special stores in Dabrow or, for that matter, in other cities, especially for the sick. I know that two such stores are open in Zabrze and are properly stocked.

[Answer] We will intervene, although the problem should be the concern, above all, of the local authorities.

A reader from Bytom said:

[Question] As an old Spolem worker, I would like to call attention to one phenomenon. Information concerning the weight of the containers in which goods are weighed should be hung in places that are visible to the customer so that a kilogram of apples is really a kilogram. It seems to me that most of these containers are not tared.

[Answer] A very apt observation.

[Question] At one time a covered market was located in Katowice's Supersam. Is it not worthwhile to return to the old, good traditions?

[Answer] The volume of turnovers is proof of this institution. Otherwise, this is the only one-story store in Katowice that is very useful, especially for older people. However, the network of food kiosks is being expanded there.

[Question] Szaber Square was and is a good place in the city for vegetable stands.

[Answer] Vegetables will again be sold in that area in due time, after it no longer attracts loafers and speculators.

Concerning Supplies

The series of questions concerning the problem of supplies, excluding interpolations about candies and cheeses (the situation in both these product groups should improve in the next few weeks) revolved primarily around difficulties with purchasing appliances.

I have been unable to buy anything for a year now using my MM [Young Married Couples] book, moaned a reader from Myslowice.

[Answer] In fact, the credit backlog in Katowice Province for young married couples amounts to 4.5 billion zlotys. Credit is realized most of all (70 percent) for domestic furniture, and least of all for radios and home appliances.

[Question] The same individuals are standing in line for curtains and screens, and they probably are not from Katowice Province, at least not from Katowice itself. Should we not return to selling goods to individuals only when they show their identity card?

[Answer] After all, this is one country, and many rural areas do not have the stores carrying manufactured articles. There were many methods for dividing up the modest pool of manufactured goods, but none of them proved satisfactory.

[Question] So far not one article has been drawn by lots in my plant.

[Answer] Controlled sales have been suspended. The minister of domestic trade and services is developing a uniform system for allocating goods in Poland. We cannot allow workers of large, influential enterprises to obtain all the articles while workers of smaller enterprises get none. Thus, we are proposing to change the general principles for distributing goods. Currently they are distributed exclusively on the basis of demographic indices, that is, in accordance with the number of people living in a given area, which does not take into account purchasing power which, after all, determines demand.

This necessarily brief account of the first telephone consultation that has been held after some interlude is a form of direct discussion between party

activists and the readers of this paper that we will continue. It has allowed us to draw two conclusions:

First, although the contents of the comments were similar to last year's, the tone was different. Last year one sensed despair in many voices and pleas to purchase anything whatever. The market has changed for the better, especially for food products, although there is a very long way to go for complete satisfaction.

Second, this year more people than last year voiced their opinions on apt subjects and had specific criticisms. Most commentators attempted to explain what is happening in agriculture, supplies or commerce based on their own personal experiences. There were many examples given during the present consultation on the problems of quality, the breeding of small stocks of animals or the functioning of commerce. Against this background, many interesting specific solutions were formulated.

This public trust must be satisfied.

Bielsko Biala Plenary Session

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 27 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jozef Klis and Stanislaw Mol: "The Bielsko Biala PZPR Provincial Committee Plenary Session; There Is No Alternative to Protecting the Environment"]

[Text] An evaluation of the status of environmental protection in Bielsko Biala province was the theme of the plenary session of the Bielsko Biala PZPR Provincial Committee [KW] that was held on 26 September. The deliberations were conducted by Andrzej Gdula, PZPR KW first secretary. The following also participated: Comrade Michal Atlas, director of the PZPR Central Committee Administration Department; Comrade Wacław Kuczynski, deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee Economics Department, and Zdzisław Stencel, director of the Office for Environmental Protection and Water Management. The invited guests included Aleksander Jura, SD [Democratic Party] Provincial Committee Secretary, and Prof Jozef Chlebowski, PPRON Provincial Council chairman.

Comrade Kazimierz Ledwon, PZPR KW secretary, opened the discussions, stating that the PZPR KW leadership is duty bound to consider the worsening state of the natural environment in Podbeskid and the resolutions of the party provincial conference, which obligated echelon leaders to examine this problem as a whole.

The plenary sessions were preceded by consultations at workplaces and in the most threatened communities, including Oswiecim, Goleszow, Ustron and Bielsko Biala.

The most serious problem in Bielsko Biala Province, which is a potable water reserve and has five water reservoirs, is the contamination of water by industrial wastes and the construction of needed sewage-treatment plants. In fact, however, the constantly increasing process of contaminating water has been curtailed, although it continues to threaten the environment, especially in the catchment areas of the Olza, Zylica, Skawa and Wieprzowiek Rivers.

The most urgent need to build sewage-treatment plants that are used by industry and the community exists in Szczyrek, Andrychow, Skoczow and Cieszyn, where a sewage-treatment plant is under construction, as well as in Wapienica, Zywiec, Sucha Beskidzka and Oswiecim, where the building of these plants has not yet begun. Information obtained from the work enterprises indicates that there is much difficulty in properly planning investments in the realm of protecting water against contamination because the work enterprises do not know exactly how much money can be allocated for the investments; inclusion of these investments in the plan will depend on obtaining additional financing.

The water purity problem appeared in the presentations of many speakers. It was emphasized that during the 1970-1980 period outlays for sewage-treatment plants decreased, placing Bielsko Biala among the bottom in the country.

However, there is some optimism in that now enough funds have been designated for this purpose, so that Podbeskid is now in 10th place in this regard. But implementing these plans is an exceptionally complex problem. Often the work is done by enterprises having excess construction capacity but who do not have the professional cadres and proper equipment. Forming a specialized enterprise is one of the primary conditions for realizing investments in the realm of water protection. Equally important is to strive for resources as accumulated investments (jointly with other provinces), the introduction of practices such that a plant responsible for environmental degradation pays for it or recovers the damage that was caused by it, the introduction of penalties which would make it unprofitable to destroy the environment, and revising regulations which, obviously, would standardize the operation of plants and enterprises poisoning the environment.

The water shortage in Bielsko Biala Province, a very serious problem, which could be solved by building reservoirs in Swinna-porebia and Brenna, was also discussed. These investments would also have an effect on water supplies in neighboring provinces.

Attention was focused on the delays in regulating rivers and floods. There is constant talk about removing the damages, which amount to millions of zlotys, instead of providing protection against the damage.

Much place and attention was devoted to excessive noise and the emission of dusts, the lack of appropriate places to dump wastes and the management of waste material. For example, excessive dust emissions from the Trzynier Mill (in Czechoslovakia) causes great harm to Beskid's forests in the Czantoria and Mala Czantoria regions.

The Oswiecim chemical plants are a positive example of environmental protection; these plants developed a special program and implemented it successfully. It includes actions designed not only to reduce harmful emissions but also to better manage waste products.

As stated in the discussions, Bielsko Biala Province possesses rare tourist and scenic values and recreational areas that should be especially protected. Prof Jozef Chlebowski, chairman of the Bielsko Biala PPRON Provincial Committee, stated that PRON is forming a special commission on the environmental protection problem that will try to improve the situation in this area. Promulgating the culture of rest and enjoying fully the beauties of nature, however, depends on man alone.

Minister Zdzislaw Stencil joined the discussion and stated that the theme of the plenary session, which was considered in Bielsko Biala Province for the first time in the country at the provincial level, is leading to positive revaluations that were accomplished relative to environmental protection problems. Among other things, he discussed the problem of initiating the construction of reservoirs on the Skawa and Brenna Rivers. The reservoir in Swinna-Porebia has a chance of being included in the central plan for the 1985-1986 period, even though it will be very difficult. At this time 40 billion zlotys have been allocated for this investment. It should be remembered that 11 large reservoirs are now being constructed in the country, and that water storage is but one of many environmental protection problems.

In conclusion, the plenum passed a resolution whose main theme was to maintain proper relations between outlays for the region's economic development and the protection of the environment. Specific programs and guidelines were designated, as well as schedules for their realization, which take into account all spheres of activities in this area.

Zestochowa Provincial Plenum

Katowice TRYBUNA Robotnicza, In Polish 27 Sep 83 pp 1, 1

[Article by Leszek Figiel: "The PPRK IX Plenum in Zestochowa; Rally at Many Social Circles as Possible Around the Party's Program"]

[Text: Yesterday's plenary deliberation of Zestochowa's PPRK IX was dedicated to evaluating PPR (basic party organization) operations and PPR tasks for the very near future.]

As stated in the PPR executive board report presented by Comrade Henryk Madarke, PPR secretary, last year's reports campaign in the provincial party organizations revealed many examples of the PPR's rebuilding organizational vitality, ideological-political activity, and winning of public trust in the communities in which they operate. The commentator developed a program to improve the activities of all party cells. In accordance with the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, he stated that the main tasks are strengthening the party ideologically, politically and organizationally; overcoming the weaknesses and harmful tendencies in its ranks; and concentrating all forces to resolve the most difficult problems of the region's working people.

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interorganizational work. It is necessary to strengthen the operations of party groups in the lower social organizations because they are the direct link to the lower strata of the community to improve the flow of information to the higher echelons in the enterprises.

The organizations must also party groups and to use more effectively the possibilities of controlling and coordinating with youth organizations must also be other similar structures.

The following is a list of persons who possess political knowledge. Discussing and drafting proposals, developing ideas and evaluations must become a permanent duty of the party groups. It is one of the most important ways of increasing the party's significant potential of social control and influence. There is a shortage of tested forms to raise ideological awareness. For example, the working school for worker activists has been proposed. The following were awarded CPUSA LDC's group award.

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The new political party groups, organized the changed in PAF activities, the increased responsibilities, and the responsibility of fulfilling party tasks. It is necessary to emphasize the need to equalize the level of work of all party groups and to the most important task for the coming winter. The present committee and Executive Board report to be the document which will be the basis for the work to be accomplished prior to the report on the committee's activities.

Currently, the following persons are the PAF group in the following: Conrad Dymowski, who is the group's chairman and the group's secretary, participated in the group.

Zamosc Executive Board Meeting

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 83 p 2

[Article by (bem): "From the Deliberations of the PZPR KW Executive Board; in Zamoac: Implementing the Proposals Submitted During the Reports-Program Campaign"]

[Text] Yesterday the PZPR KW Executive Board met in Zamosc to evaluate the implementation of the proposals submitted during the reports-program campaign among the primary echelons.

Having in mind the proper evaluation and objective resolution of the proposals submitted by party members and organizations, the PZPR KW leadership undertook a number of initiatives of which at least the following should be mentioned: the formation of an interdepartmental group to implement the proposals; and obligating the KW's Political-Organizational Department to keep records and to coordinate the work of the other departments in keeping proper track of the submitted proposals and their implementation.

During the reports-program campaign, the PZPR KW received 312 proposals from 42 primary-level party echelons. Most of them were directed either to the Socioagricultural Department (120) or to the Socioeconomic Department (110). Among the stated problems, very many concerned investments, modernization and rebuilding, supplies for agricultural production, public transportation, supplies and commerce. After the contents of the proposals were analyzed in detail, they were directed to various addresses for implementation.

Among the proposals directed to the central authorities, 27 concerned general social problems rankling the rural areas and the agricultural community. Among other things, the postulates concerned the introduction of a stable agricultural policy that also gives preference to the production of grain cattle for slaughter and milk; the development of new contract terms that are profitable for the farmers; increasing agricultural production; changing the existing supply system for coal and protein food; and increasing the supplies of rubber boots and protective attire.

In the proposals directed to the governor of Zamosc province, agricultural and investment problems also predominated and concerned municipal economy and housing management; road construction; supplies; the functioning of commerce; improving the cadre situation in education and health services. Concerning the proposals on the agricultural problem, it should be stated that all postulates submitted by the proposers were resolved positively. To a great extent they concerned such problems as expanding peasants' farms, giving preferences to young farmers and the like.

Many of the submitted proposals also concerned the building, rebuilding or remodeling of health service facilities (including those in Rachanice, Obsza,

Psiezpola, Telatyna and Mielisz); of cultural and educational-training facilities (in Pashanice, Hrubieszow, Grabowicz, Komarow and Krynice) and of investment construction. The replies received to the submitted proposals are in principle depleted; however, 22 proposals concerning the construction of new education-training and health care facilities will not be implemented now because of a lack of investment funds and production capacity. But five proposals encompassing investment postulates were implemented positively. The concern here is actually about rebuilding the transportation infrastructure and accelerating implemented tasks. But in the realm of road construction, 5 of the 13 proposals were resolved positively, and 3 of them were commented on.

Of the 41 proposals concerning supplies of agricultural production equipment and services, 21 have been realized so far. Above all they concerned supplies of coal and chemical fertilizers, supplying rural stores with food articles and allocating agricultural machinery and equipment equally to the individual gminas. The proposal concerning the opening in Szczepieszyn of a motor vehicle inspection station as well as the proposal from the gmina of Granowicz concerning making the sale of bread to farmers dependent on the sale of grain to the socialized market were not implemented.

Considering the contents of the submitted proposals and the methods of implementing them, it should be said that a suitable selection of problems is still lacking at the primary level, and proposals are often submitted spontaneously without a critical analysis concerning the possibility of their implementation. That is why the members of the KW Executive Board recognized the need to improve further operations in this area, especially accentuating the need to completely comply with the instructions of the PZPR Central Committee on this subject and having the primary echelons analyze and evaluate in October the extent to which the proposals that were submitted during the reports-program campaign have been implemented as well as obtaining more action from the groups concerned with proposals.

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PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Unionists' Problems

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 26 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Jan Widawski: "Together or Alone?"]

[Text] At one time and incidentally, not so long ago, we associated the post office with images of letters, packages, the telephone and telegraph, a newspaper subscription and several other services. The term postal employee referred not only to the mailman, the girl in the post office window, but of course, also to the long distance telephone operator. If someone thinks that this is how it still is, he is mistaken. The postal service, like many other institutions, has been quartered. Now we have post offices, telecommunication offices as well as communication transport facilities. These are separate enterprises, although they are most often linked by a common seat and a common minister of communications. And even though the average letter sender or telegram recipient still treats that which is found in the post office building as one whole, those who are employed there have already separated totally. Proof of this is the matter of the creation of a federation of trade unions of employees from the Ministry of Communication.

This is an interesting issue for several reasons. First of all, it is an emphatic denial of the loud croaking about the contention that the new unions, regardless of whether their name includes the words "self-governing" and "independent" or not, are nevertheless kept in check by the authorities. Secondly, it represents a confirmation of the observation that the unions impose a number of concerns upon the administration and will cause unpleasant dreams among a great many office workers. Third, it is proof that these new unions do not want to and will not be similar to their prototypes of 3 or more years ago.

Briefly, the matter appears as follows: When there arose the possibility of the creation of nonplant union structures, four groups of initiatives emerged at about the same time in the communications ministry, which were totally independent of each other and whose purpose was to create union federations. The first such group emerged on 24 May in Lublin from among the members of the trade union workers of Lublin Voivodship's Bureau of

Telecommunications and adopted as its goal the federation of telecommunication union members. In nearby Radom, a group emerged with a program which was competitive from the start because although it was made up of postal employees, its intention was to bring together in a federation all unions from bureaus and enterprises subordinate to the Ministry of Communications. It turned out shortly that there still exist founding committees of the federation of workers from the communications industry as well as from the communications motor transport industry.

For a sideline observer, support for the initiative from Radom appears evident. The arguments in favor of such a solution are numerous: in unity there is strength--weakness in division; one federation means smaller costs--several federations implies an unnecessary burden placed upon the membership fund; one federation means a compatible program while several denotes competition, the struggle for influence and the unnecessary wasting of power; one federation means agreement as to the division and exploitation of assets remaining from former unions, including recreation and rest centers, while separation is the near assurance of fighting on this ground as well. These are important arguments, but they are not irrefutable.

For example, the founders and supporters of the union of telecommunications workers are countering these arguments in the following way: the group which numbers the most workers in telecommunications are postal employees, and in the case of joint federation they will dominate the organization, their problems will always be first and foremost and all this will take place, as has been the case for many years, at the expense of the remaining branches in the ministry. Moreover, the telecommunications ministry has more than its share of its own urgent and important matters. In addition, the organizational structure of postal employees is different from, for example, that of telecommunications workers. The latter have already become modernized. However, in order to catch up with Europe and the world, it must become even more modern--this is absolutely indispensable for the country. Shortly, it will be controlled by highly advanced electronics and thereby the training level of cadres must rise as well as the demands made on them. They also argue that the telecommunications industry is not afraid of federation costs because when the Radom group talks about employing 20 persons, the Lublin group feels that they can manage with 4 persons working full-time. They also have a way of dealing with rest and recreation centers: a ministerial center of social services has been created--let it handle the administration of these centers and not just collect profit from commissions earned from the selling of vacation space in them, and what's more, this space must be distributed proportionately to the number of employees in various departments. And finally, they have the ultimate argument: this is how the telecommunications union members want it.

There are as many as 32 unions (from an overall number of 60), which exist within the departments of telecommunications and which bring together more than 60 percent of the present union members from these departments, have already applied for membership in the Federation of Trade Unions of Telecommunications Workers of the PRL. The remaining unions are hesitating and only one of them has backed the Radom group.

It would appear that the above situation should not present any problems in the creation of an independent federation of telephone and telegraph workers. However, as it turns out, there are problems. In accordance with the law pertaining to trade unions, nonplant structures should be created in agreement with or with the cooperation of the proper ministries. This does not in any way signify the limiting of the rights of union members; on the contrary, it represents the administration's commitment to assist unions. However, the Ministry of Communications clearly prefers an integrated federation (it is better to have one guard watching you than several) and in a more or less sophisticated manner this cools the fervor for independence in the remaining unions as was discussed by Ryszard Pietrzyk, chairman of the Founding Committee of the Lublin federation, at a meeting in Katowice with Gen W. Jaruzelski. He talked about this in greater detail at the recent gathering in Opole of telecommunications union members from the Katowice area.

He also refuted the accusation of his colleagues from Radom about breaking up the union and trade unity of communications workers. "It is impossible to break up union members," he claimed, "because each one of them is independent and autonomous and works by himself for respect in his enterprise." The federation is to be only a representative of these unions to higher level authorities as well as a platform for the exchange of experiences and the establishment of a common social, wage, cadre, etc., policy. As far as the struggle for the common interest of all the employees of the ministry is concerned, there is nothing to prevent the management of federations from meeting and agreeing on a uniform or similar stand on matters of interest to the majority of the communications workers. In addition, in such general matters, not one lone representative of one federation will be sent out for talks with the minister, but three or four equally qualified workers' delegates. It is always more pleasant in a group. However, as far as the professional unity of the workers of the ministry is concerned, it was broken apart by the administration which is so worried about it now. At one time, there were joint postal-telecommunications bureaus equipped with their own transport system. It is the administration that separated the communications workers and the tears that it sheds now because of it are not genuine.

In any case, the proposal for the federation of telecommunications workers is in the State Council. And so, things have gone according to the will of the only decisionmakers in this matter--the union members. Even if it turns out that, contrary to current expectations, their independence does not bring them benefits, they will have the awareness that they themselves have made a mistake and that they will have to assume full responsibility for it. They will also be able to correct it by extending their hand to the remaining communications workers. However, they will be able to make another one because the right to make mistakes also gives the right for union independence, which is being questioned here and there.

Strength of Unified People

Poznan GLOS WIELKOPOLSKI in Polish 27 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Zygmunt Rola]

[Text] Telephones start ringing from the early daylight hours, long before 8 am. On the other end of the line--people from Szczecin, Gdansk and Krakow. Thus, Ryszard Zajda does not have time for a leisurely chat with the press. The lively long-distance discussions are more important: how does one cope with bureaucratic red tape? These questions are raised because the union members from related plants have decided to join forces and create a subsequent national federation of their plant organizations. They have been calling here to Poznan, to the metalworkers, because it is the metalworkers who have been thinking about this for a long time already and have become familiar with paths which are still unknown to others: the path to the Voivodship Court in Warsaw and to the State Council.

Ryszard Zajda from Cegielski is the chairman of the Founding Committee of the Federation of Trade Unions of the Metal and Electrical Engineering Industry. He is one of the few who does not do social work in the unions. Someone must devote the entire day to the handling of current affairs of a quarter million members employed in over 300 plants scattered all around the country. He is also a consultant and gives out information constantly.

Dairy product transport workers are waiting in an adjoining room. They have come for advice in person. They will have a business meeting in Poznan. The representatives of voivodship enterprises from around the country have come here because they too want to be united in a federation. They are asking dozens of questions: Mieczyslaw Sawicki from Bialystok, Fryderyk Piekarczyk from Bydgoszcz and Waldemar Panas from Poznan, who is the chairman of the founding committee of the dairy product transport federation. They have been delegated to ask these questions by the participants of the national gathering of union members from the voivodship enterprises of this branch of industry which took place in Poznan at the beginning of September. That is when the following decision was made: that dairy transporters will not join the emerging federation of dairy cooperatives but will form their own despite pressure from the administration of the Central Union of Dairy Cooperatives. There are approximately 10,000 of these milk transporters in Poland and they have their own problems which those in the white aprons cannot understand.

Are plant unions not enough? Are federations really necessary? I am citing these "naive" questions because I hear them quite often, especially from the opponents of new organizations. They claim that "red" unions are apparently not needed by the workers and that, therefore, they also do not need federations. But the workers themselves, who number in the majority among union members, know full well that the power of getting through is assured by the power of the people who are united and who know what they want.

[illegible]

In any case, no one is taking these rights away from them. We must have the right to my own independent and autonomous opinions. I regret in acknowledging all the arguments "for," I am nevertheless "against" because it signifies weakness. Mutual toleration between us is an excellent pretext for officials not to respect the wishes of any of these organizations, for treating them collectively and for pursuing the interest of one against the others. The administration has been dominating always and everywhere and that is why it is creating a favorable climate now, as well, for breaking things up.

Will these calls to "unite efforts" and to "close ranks," which often are not the first such appeals, be of consequence? I do not think so. Freedom of opinion is valuable these days. But perhaps it is time to try to give the unions the shape that currently seems best to them, a shape that which for them has the highest value is being maintained--the value of independence and autonomy.

New Union With old Traditions

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 18 Sep 83 p 1

[Interview with Aleksander Szymanski, chairman of the Education Board of the Polish Teachers Union (ZNP) in Gdansk, by Anna Jasnowska]

[Text] [Question] Doesn't it make you sad to be organizing the union again, a union which has a 78-year old tradition and is which you were active for a good many years?

[Answer] Yes, it makes me very sad, although, 30 hours, the wound is already behind us. Those who remained with us until the very dissolution of the union hurt. We felt that we did not deserve them. However, this was a political act which required that the union be created anew and it was necessary to abide by this. Actually, we are reconstructing the old union. If it were otherwise, we would probably not survive this--we would not have enough strength. That is why we should speak of the continuation of ZNP. This is our bargaining chip. I think that because of this we already have such a large number of members.

[Question] Your number is growing. Could you compare your development in terms of numbers, with the present?

[Answer] The percentages speak for themselves. The ZNP always gathered together more than 90 percent of educating employees. Still was the case before 1980. After that, the numbers began to drop. By the end of 1981 we barely had 50 percent of those employed in the field of education. But now we already make up more than 50 percent, up to 70%. The time being, we do not know how many in our ranks are willing to withdraw. They have their own organizational structures and it will not be decided until the congress whether this will be a solid basis for new unions or the basis of a federation.

[Question] On whom do you plan to rely as the chairman of the Gdansk ZNP?

[Answer] It is probably understandable that in the beginning stages we will rely on the old, tried and true ZNP activists. They are the ones who were instrumental in reviving this organization in Gdansk in such a short period of time. These are the teachers and other workers in the field of education who remained faithful to the union until its last days. Outside of this, we are waiting for all those who would like to work for the union.

[Question] Do you also see a place in the ZNP for members of the former teachers' Solidarity?

[Answer] Some of them already belong to our union. After all, we do not question anyone about where they were until this time. We accept everyone. I will tell you why they are starting to come to us. The ZNP has done so much good for the people that it would be impossible not to see this, even if we were to take rural areas, for example: social and cultural life there was concentrated around the union. This was very important to the people and they could never forget this, even when they left us. This process of leaving had its various sides as well. Those who left did so mainly because they wanted to support Solidarity at a certain stage and not because they found some fault with the ZNP. I myself have never come across this even though people know who I am and the role that I play in the union. I feel that the rapid growth in our numbers is a certain manifestation of this integration. Before summer vacation, there were 6,000 of us and after only 3 weeks following school opening, there were already 7,500 members. This integration will progress. The union will handle matters for all teachers and not solely for its members. I will give you the nearest example: Teachers' Day is coming up and this will be a day for all teachers, even though it is being organized by ZNP elements. It is only natural that through such activity we aim to increase our membership. We want to be truly representative in the community. We realize that not everyone will want to join ZNP but even if they do not, they will not be considered our enemies.

[Question] The ZNP statute also provides for the role of an auxiliary member. For whom?

[Answer] Anyone who wants to work on behalf of ZNP and who cannot join because of the nature in which he is employed can become an auxiliary member of ZNP, i.e., deprived of the active or passive right to vote. This pertains, for example, to employees of the educational administration, political activists and those who have stopped working in the school system. We guarantee them that they will receive credit for their experience if they had it and all union privileges besides the aforementioned right to vote.

[Question] You have had and continue to have quite a number of declarations which promise support and care. How does this reflect on union independence?

[Answer] We value all support as long as it does not infringe upon our independence. I must admit that in the beginning there were instances where the support which we received was forced out. This kind of activity would not have led to anything good. These incidental instances were, in my opinion, the result of the erroneous reading of the intentions of higher level authorities. It is possible that the school administration on a lower level took up this matter a bit too zealously. What we are counting on is real support from the party through membership in the union of party teachers, through the creation of a climate conducive to further activity and through the dissemination of information about ZNP activities. If we do not protect our independence and autonomy, we will lose our good opinion as a union. After all, we did not follow anybody's orders in forming this union. This is our initiative and work. It was said to waste something that had existed for 70 years! And since we created it, it was not so that it would go to waste. I have an inner conviction that I will protect the independence of the union. If not, then I shall resign.

[Question] In the beginning, you took a sharp stand on the Teachers' Charter. There were several controversial points in need of defending. There is still one more remaining.

[Answer] The ZNP has held and will continue to hold the position of the infrangibility of the charter. Government proposals to introduce changes would cause a great deal of ferment in teaching circles. Arguments had to be refuted point by point. One paragraph still remains concerning early retirement. There was talk about the proposals to have these pensions spread out in installments. However, the Sejm Commission for Education and Upbringing agrees with the arguments of the ZNP. According to the current state of the matter, the issue has been won by the union.

[Question] In the package of tasks which you have accepted as a district organization, you have taken into account all the most important problems which are encountered by the school system and by teachers and with which the union should concern itself. However, it is impossible to take charge of everything at once. What will be placed on the front burner?

[Answer] To start with, organizational union matters. It is necessary to rebuild the union structures, create new union centers in schools and finally prepare delegates for the congress. Once we take care of this, we will start tackling the backbreaking problems of housing for teachers. We will make an effort to create a teachers' housing cooperative--for teachers not in name only. We also have the approval of the vice governor of the province in the matter of building individual housing for teachers in rural areas. He promised us definite financial assistance while the union will take on the task of helping to free those who will build from excessive bureaucratic formalities. We want to cut them down to a minimum.

[Question] You [the union] received a gift from the school superintendent at the conference. It appears that finally there will be a senior citizens' home for teachers.

[Answer] We received the building in late April the opportunity to begin for this purpose with great joy. It has been for as long that Zia has been asking for such a facility! This is an old, dilapidated building which needs repair. We have been promising Davis for this purpose. We will see to it that this home starts to fulfill its function as soon as possible. There are many solitary teachers who are eager to live in it. We will surround them with care while at the same time turning over their present quarters to other teachers. Reviving cultural life among teachers also seems extremely important to me. Indeed, there are plans but there is nothing going on in town. Rural communities are also waiting for proposals of trips to the theatre as well as other forms of contact with the arts. We will do this. Don't you think that this could be the road to the integration of the community?

[Question] Perhaps, although I feel that you are an optimist.

[Answer] I have to be an optimist to take this on again. However, I do not have certain general reservations as to the growth of union activity. There are increasingly fewer people who are willing to do something for others; people who work for the benefit of others. I feel that we have lost many devoted people in all this havoc. Filled with bitterness, they don't want to begin all over again. And that is why when I attend union meetings, the sight of every young face gives me hope.

[Question] In 2 weeks you will all have a home at least other at the congress. You will count the union members, your talents and capabilities. What do you think, how will this balance out?

[Answer] This will be a benchmark sign of our existence, its continuity, too, and, after all, this will not be the first congress but the 3rd. People will become interested in it and become convinced that this is the continuation of the goals of the former, good the congress. Perhaps then they will come to us?

Interpreting Union

Review Mining in Dallas 25 May 1971

[Text] Seventy percent of the work force of the Petroleum and Gas Mining Plant in Dallas belongs to a trade union. The greatest number of union members, more than 90 percent of the total work force, is from the following mines: Oostelva, Wala Industries, Teller, Wagoner 1 and Wagoner 2. When the Independent Self-Government Trade Union of Petroleum Workers was beginning its activity, it numbered a little over 200 persons; at present, it was approximately 900 members. Newer applications for membership in the trade union continue to rise to over 1000. What is significant is that as one has prompted it is providing success in itself. What has caused the new trade union to be accepted by the majority of the work force? In order to understand this, it is necessary to understand the community of petroleum miners, who quite often cannot find recognition from their grandfatherly fathers. Now, there are no longer strong trade and labor leaders

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PROVINCIAL WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES NOTED

How Self-Government Operates

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 23 Sep 83 pp 1,2

/Article by (A Sch): "How Do Workers' Self-Government Units Operate?"

/Text Yesterday, at the Nauta Repair Shipyard in Gdansk, a consultative meeting took place between the leading workers' self-government units of enterprises in the maritime economy and Minister Jerzy Korzonek, the head of the Office of Maritime Economy /UGM/. Also participating in this meeting were UGM Deputy Minister Ryszard Pospieszynski, the deputy head of the Economic Department of the Central Committee, Secretary of the Maritime Commission of the PZPR Central Committee Ryszard Huterski, and head of the Maritime Department of the PZPR KW /Voivodship Committee/ in Gdansk, Kazimierz Czyzewski.

Minister J Korzonek stressed at the outset the significance and role of workers' self-government in the period of the economic reform. Self-government should influence the decisions taken in the workplace, and state whether the decisions taken at the level of the ministry are correct and effectively carried out.

Deputy Minister R. Pospieszynski gave an assessment of the results of the work of individual enterprises forming part of the maritime economy complex. He also discussed the key problems on which the UGM is presently working, and which constitute an implementation of the resolution of the 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee devoted to the maritime economy. The speaker also described, among other things, the prospects and tasks for the maritime economy in the years 1983-1985. He pointed out that in this area we should aim above all to improve the quality of work, increase the efficiency of employment, and conserve on materials. He described workers' self-government as "an inseparable component of the economic reform."

The discussion, in which eight leading workers' self-government units spoke, covered not only workers' issues associated with the present time, but also above all problems affecting the future of our maritime economy.

Jan 1971, from the PZPR Enterprise for Fishing and Fishing Services in Gdynia described among other things the wage problems of fishermen and the personnel problems associated with this.

Marcel Chabot, from the Gdynia Enterprise for Deep Sea Fishing and Fishing Services in Gdynia, emphasized as something very important the question of the construction of a new deep-sea fleet for his firm.

On the other hand, Boguslaw Ginter from the Polish Ocean Lines (PLO) in Gdynia called attention to the need for further development of the line fleet of the Gdynia transporter. This fleet is at present heavily exploited. He stated that Deputy Minister Pospieszynski's proposal on reducing workers' salaries is also very necessary in the PLO.

Judzycki from the Szkuner Enterprise for Fishing and Fishing Services in Gdynia discussed the activities of self-government of Gdynia and pointed out the low compensation for people working at sea. He cited the fact of the departure of people from the fishing fleet.

Edward Zaleski from the Gdynia Repair Shipyard described among other things the deterioration of shipyard equipment. The last investments in the repair shipyard took place at the beginning of the 1970's. Thus, at least part of the equipment must now be modernized immediately.

Edmund Ostrowski, a representative of the Nauta Repair Shipyard, also pointed out the need for the construction of new docks at the repair shipyard. He also pointed out the necessity of using financial relief, not only from the state, but for investments modernizing the base at these shipyards.

The deterioration of port equipment and machinery was also discussed by Edward Zaleski from the Gdynia Port Administration. He stated that from his point of view the process is not halting this process. He suggested to the committee to institute an appropriate foreign exchange reduction for the purchase of essential equipment and spare parts.

The next speaker was Secretary of the Maritime Commission of the PZPR Gdynia Committee J. Muterski, who described the scope of the committee's work. He also stated that workers' self-government is an essential element of socialist renewal, and a genuine foundation for the workers' return.

Edward J. Gruzinski, concluding yesterday's consultative meeting of Gdynia self-government units, stated that the discussion had shown that, in order to improve their operation, the self-government units were concerned with a number of the economic problems of enterprises. Self-government units, however, are still kept insufficiently informed of management decisions. This particularly has to do with information on the projects that have been taken up or are in the process of being taken up by the Gdynia. One example was the issue raised in the discussion

The activity of a village administrator, even the best one, working as a rule on his own, is not capable of coping with current tasks such as those arising in a Polish village. It is therefore necessary to have a collegial, social executive organ for the rural assembly, something like a presidium of the rural assembly, or, in other words, a collective village administrator.

Perceiving such a need, and making use of the good example of the Lubaw commune and the experiences of other voivodships in this sector, in April 1978 the WRN /Voivodship People's Council/ Presidium in Olsztyn presented an initiative for the creation of rural councils in Olsztyn villages, as integral elements of rural self-government. How did this initiative develop?

According to the information available, on 1 January 1983, 415 village councils had been formed (this was the name later adopted the rural councils). This means that councils already exist in 42 percent of the total number of village administrations in the voivodship. The majority of the village councils were formed in the years 1978-1979. Since that time 90 new councils have appeared, but 53 have wasted away, among other things through a lack of assistance from the local aktiv and the gmina authorities, and often also possibly through an underestimation of this new organism in the social landscape of the village.

Village councils have not been formed in many village administrations in the voivodship, in view of the small number of inhabitants or the preponderance of PGR /State Farms/. There are 3,355 people working in village councils, including 733 women. There are an average of 5-7 people per council. As experience shows, this is a sufficient number, and it seems to be optimal for operational activity.

The chairmen of village councils are generally the village administrators. In these posts, however, one may also encounter teachers, POP /basic party organization/ secretaries, and the presidents of ZSL /United Peasant Party/ circles. While during the initial period the village councils were formed from the aktiv of the sociopolitical organizations in the village, in the last 2 years, in 23 communes, the village councils were elected at general assemblies of the residents of the village. In this manner their position and authority in rural society was strengthened.

On the basis of an analysis of reports from the chairmen of gmina people's councils and of the talks conducted, it appears irrefutable that in recent years the activity of village councils has been dominated by the matter of consultation on very concrete problems of the village and the individual affairs of its residents. During the period from 1980 to 1982, rural self-government expressed 5,972 opinions. They dealt primarily with the gmina plan and budget, the sale and management of the land of the State Land Fund, the allocation of agricultural equipment, and the distribution of the commune fund. Many village administrators consult with the village councils on the subject of tax breaks and the distribution of funds for social welfare.

According to Zygmunt Wtulich, the head of the Olsztynek UMIG [City-Gmina Office], consultation on matters with the village council or the rural assembly allows making more correct and just decisions, and leads to a decrease in the number of firings and complaints. The head cites the following examples:

"In Mierki village, after the departure of the owners, a house was left with two apartments. Eight people needing housing submitted applications. To whom should they be allocated? The village council nominated two candidates. Nevertheless, when they moved to the apartments that had been allocated, a 'squatter' had broken in and taken up residence there. The citizens of Mierki were aroused by this illegal act, which led to a rapid eviction.

"In the Zabie village in the Kurki village administration, four applicants expressed their desire to farm 4.5 hectares from the PFZ [State Land Fund]. The difficulty was that this land was different and located in two places; part of the land was fertilized with manure. As is human nature, each person wanted the best piece of land. The village council, through secret successive votes, singled out two candidates. Full access to the land acquired will only come after a year, since the recipient who fertilized part of the land with manure was permitted to use the land for this year. Such an objective determination of a matter can only be achieved after profound social consultation with the people at the bottom."

Antoni Romanos, the chairman of the City-Gmina People's Council in Olsztynek, thinks that the system of consultation requires not only improvement, but also more extensive consideration in implementation of pertinent conclusions and observations from citizens.

"It does not always happen that way. For example, the transportation department in the Olsztynek MIE [City-Gmina] administration was liquidated, even though there is a large Forestry Transport Center there, a POM [State Machine Station], and several other institutions that have equipment, and though the amount of equipment owned by farmers is growing. On all matters associated with transportation, those interested must travel to Olsztyn. Is this increased efficiency in administrative activity and a reduction in social costs?

"An emergency veterinary service was working in Olsztynek. Last year the Voivodship Office of Veterinary Medicine, without consulting with the farmers, liquidated it, moving service for the farmers from the Olsztynek gmina to an emergency service in Olsztyn. In this manner, services from the emergency veterinary service became more expensive and less accessible. Presently, the village councils and Olsztynek gmina authorities are organizing financial assistance from the funds of the Agricultural Development Fund to maintain an emergency service in Olsztynek. Its operation will soon be restored. If thorough consultation had been conducted on this matter at an appropriate time, unnecessary irritations, polemics, and possibly even lawsuits, would have been eliminated.

"And here is one more matter I would like to call attention to," chairman Romanos said. "Does a collegium for certifications have to operate only in former district towns? Olsztynek has all the prerequisites for having its own collegium. Its activity can be more effective than a collegium in distant Olsztyn."

There are 20 councils operating in the Olsztynek gmina, for 27 village administrations. Chairman Romanos considers their work to be indispensable in resolving village matters.

The work of the village council in Krolikowo is assessed positively by its chairman, village administrator Jan Wilk.

"Our council consists of six members. This allows me not to feel isolated in my work, and helpless with respect to problems like those that arise for our village. The problems of agricultural production have occupied us for a long time. With funds from the Agricultural Development Fund, we purchased balers for the needs of our farmers. One of the farmers tried to purchase this baler without an opinion from us, but we did not give our consent. We allotted 58,000 from the FRP /Agricultural Development Fund/ for the needs of the water company. Within the framework of a social action, we performed a partial repair of the fire station. Currently we are conducting a struggle to keep the dairy collection center. In view of local difficulties, the dairy wants us to bring the milk to a neighboring village 4 km away. We think that 41 farmers need a collection center of their own. We hold general village assemblies, depending on whether there is something important to arrange."

The village councils in Olsztyn Voivodship have shown a great deal of concern for an increase in agricultural production and the development of agricultural services. They have been involved in the development of social actions. The residents of the Sepopol, Piecki, Zilewo, and Gorowo Iławeckie gminas have earned distinction in the creation of conditions and a base for culture. The village councils are familiar with the problems of education, health, and social welfare. Rural self-government is showing increasingly greater interest in the needs of the village in the sphere of communal economy, and thus in the construction and operation of water lines, the construction and maintenance of streets and sidewalks, their illumination, and also the supply of gas.

The actions of village councils benefit from Council of State Resolution No. 24/81 of 19 March 1981, and the continuing concern and assistance of the Wn Presidium in Olsztyn and its office.

Relation of Combines to Independents

Katowice PRYBYNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 26 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by Adam Milecki: "The Combine and Independence"]

[Text] The first man I started talking to at the factory said that he is ceasing to believe in the combine.

reform. The next one and all those I asked about this were still the same way. The problems here are like those in other enterprises; it is neither worse nor better. The reason for the blow to faith in the reform does not seem to be low wages, raw materials problems, or poor work by social services. The workers are upset by the issue of the combine.

In 1971 the minister of the machinery industry abolished the independence of the Wapienica Saw and Tool Factory in Bielsko-Biala. As was customary then, on a certain day in December the director of the factory received a telegram in which he was politely informed that beginning the next day the establishment managed by him would become part of the Vis Tool Industry Combine with its headquarters in Warsaw.

No one is going to conceal the fact that this decision was not much to the taste of the director or the work force of the factory. The plant was a good one, both in production and in exports; it had its own trademark and an established reputation. The faces of the management fell even more when the chief bookkeeper calculated that belonging to the combine would cost the factory a great deal.

At any rate, officially, the decision was made with moderate optimism, after which everyone got down to work.

It was only at times, within a small group of the factory management, that someone sighed, recalling the good old days, and someone whispered a word that was not always correct to someone else in the hallway. It also happened that at a party meeting some "irresponsible crank" would try to go back to the matter, but no one paid any attention to this, since there was no sense in it.

There were situations in which the work force of the factory also felt the consequences of the subordination. For example, the factory was ordered to send funds for the production of drills for iron and steel to the plant in Pawa Mazowiecka, gratis. After some time the factory had to make a present of machines for producing band saws to the Tool Factory in Wiedwie. It was necessary to provide different work for the people who worked in those departments, give them an opportunity to change their qualifications, and finally, which was the most difficult, to explain that this was the way it had to be.

It is an inefficient management, and it wanted to develop the plant production, and exports. The combine, however, has the finances. A large part of the profit has to be sent away. Also, the combine receives the tax breaks for an increase in exports. If any of this "drips" down to the factory, it is an act of pity from the director of Vis.

The people with whom I spoke on this subject are discouraged. Jan Gosciniak, the deputy director for economic affairs, took a bundle of documents from a desk drawer.

"Look at this," he pointed his finger at the columns of figures. "Over a period of 16 years we sent the superior unit profits amounting to 1,175,000 zlotys and 175 million for amortization. On the other hand, we received only 273 million for investments. In order to keep production from declining, we had to get loans from the Commercial Bank. We are the only ones who know how many nerves this subordination has cost us; how many losses we have suffered through this, we and the market, whose requirement for our products is enormous."

Again

In October 1961, the Saw and Tool Factory received a telegram in which the management of the Tool Industry Combine asked whether the plant wished to remain in the structure of the enterprise, or to become independent.

"So received that letter as a sign of renewal," recalls POP /basic party organization/ secretary Leon Strzalec. "The management, the self-government unit, the party organization, and other organizations operating here adopted a unanimous decision to detach ourselves from it."

Previously, martial law was declared. Since the only legal organization on the grounds of the factory was the PZPR, at the February meeting of 1961, the plant management was obligated to address the ministry of machinery and the machinery industry with a request that the factory be permitted to separate itself.

The director of the combine, however, issued a negative opinion on this matter, as a result of which the application was rejected.

Meanwhile, the feelings of the work force, aroused by the prospect of independence, intensified. At party meetings and production discussions the atmosphere was more and more disturbed. The PZPR Voivodship Committee and the Wieliczka-Biala governor also became involved in the matter.

Finally, a meeting was held between the socioeconomic aktiv of the factory and the head director of the combine. It was agreed that a specialized commission would be formed to investigate the matter and issue an opinion.

The commission, by a majority of votes, accepted the application for the separation of the factory from Via, suggesting, however, benefits that the factory would have to continue to pay to the combine.

Arguments and Counter-Arguments

Vis has strong pre- and post-production facilities, from which the Saw and Tool Factory could benefit. It turns out, however, that there are no co-production ties between the factory and the rest of the plants in the combine. The products remain in the factory from beginning to end. New technical solutions have been developed by its own design team, and the design offices are not linked to the combine.

"Look out the editor's window," director Oleszkiewicz pointed in the foundations of the new production building. "Wisprojekt wanted to skin us alive for the plan, but we found an executor here in Bielsko Biala who drew up the design for 300,000 zlotys less."

Cooperation with the supply services of the combine is also not being arranged.

"We are the only customer in the country for several types of steel," angrily said Antoni Powazka, a member of the POP Executive Board, "and it is only for us that it is imported from abroad. We were on the list of individual customers, but the combine had us removed from this list. Now we have to submit orders to Centrostal in Katowice through Warsaw."

"It has happened," remarked director Oleszkiewicz, "that we have obtained steel for the combine, due to our own efforts, and we have not even received a kilogram of it."

Another benefit for the factory, according to the commission, is the possibility of operating in an enterprise with a great concentration of production capacity.

"We are a completely separate economic organism, and this does not have any significance for us," says Tadeusz Mzyk, a member of the Executive Board of the primary party organization. "This is in general a meaningless statement, since the Sejm is currently working on an anti-monopoly law."

"Also, the argument that the combine has a license to conduct foreign trade is dubious," stated director Oleszkiewicz. "Admittedly, we are cooperating with the Vis Metalexport office, to our mutual satisfaction, but we can cooperate equally well with a different one. And, after all, leaving the combine does not mean breaking off cooperation."

The Choices of the Independents

"You are fighting for your independence, but are you certain that you can manage?" I asked when the emotions of the people I was speaking with had cooled down.

They became agitated. Of course: After all, they had thought everything over.

"I saw a program with Minister Biko on television. He said that if my enterprise wants to be separate he does not want the power to stay in. Then what is this really like?"

"We are not being taken care of. We want to be independent, but the people upstairs are holding on to us."

What the "People Upstairs" Are Doing

In response to successive letters from the factory, the Minister answered that he could not reach a decision until there was a workers' self-government unit in the combine. Presently the workers' council of the combine is already functioning, but the matter of the alienation of the Saw and Tool Factory is not being dealt with.

The management of the Vis Tool Industry Combine drew up and recently approved a new statute for the operation of the enterprise, under which the previous principles of supervision could, in the opinion of the factory management, be considered benign, paternal care.

And the people at the factory are waiting...

In the dispute described, I presented to the readers the opinions on only one side. They are subjective, but they appear to be perceptive. I think that after the appearance of the article the management of the combine will also let us know its opinion.

It is difficult for a journalist to give an opinion in matters which require examination by many specialists from different fields. I think, however, that for the good of both the parties involved and the economy, the dispute should be settled as quickly as possible.

Possibly a solution that will satisfy everyone can be found.

The newspaper will attentively monitor the further progress of the matter and inform the readers of its ending.

CAREER PROSPECTS FOR PROFESSIONALS EXAMINED

Warsaw LAD in Polish No 40, 2 Oct 33 pp 1, 5

[Article by Andrzej Malachowski: "Overqualified"]

[Text] Malgorzata is a mathematician by education. She obtained her diploma in 1973. Krzysztof studied at the Department of Sanitary Engineering of the Silesian Technical University. He completed his studies in 1972; he and Malgorzata married that year.

They were both expected to make exceptional careers in their learned professions. A dozen or so years have elapsed since they left the university, but neither of them works in their profession. They have a private vegetable and fruit store. She works behind the counter, he brings the vegetables from the local farmers.

What was the road that has brought this mathematical-engineering duet among the shelves with parsnips, green onions, sauerkraut and apples?

Malgorzata: "Two plus two always equals four; it is a pity that this is so only in mathematics and not in life."

Mathematics has always been the symbol of constance for her, a set of unchangeable truths which are independent of anybody and anything. Two plus two always equals four in mathematics, irrespective of any current trend. This drew her most to mathematics, from which she derived the moral principles for her activity.

She was enrolled at the university without the entrance examinations, as a champion of a mathematical contest. She passed the tests with ease, and A's and B's prevailed in her transcripts. She saw herself as a future research worker. When she was in the third year of her studies one of the professors offered her the position of his assistant. She accepted the offer. But 1 year later the university position moved too far from her to reach. She transferred to the University of Warsaw, where she got her

diploma, but she was not offered a job. In this situation Malgorzata ended her scientific career without ever beginning it.

She found a position as a high school teacher. Like every young educator she had ambitious plans at first, as well as confidence that they could be implemented. The disappointment came quickly. Malgorzata taught in that high school for 4 years. As she herself says now, she does not know how she could bear it for so long. The atmosphere at school was tense, full of suspicions, delations, adulation. The principal of the school was the kind of person for whom only reports sent to the superintendent's office were important. He turned the school into an enterprise, the teachers into economists and the students were the "objects" of education. In this situation Malgorzata, with her straightforwardness and youthful ideals, was a Don Quixote fighting the windmills and was predetermined to lose. True, she had wanted to change schools but, after talking to colleagues from other high schools, she came to the conclusion that the situation elsewhere was no better.

"Education is choking. The corset of bureaucracy does not let any fresh air in. Only the so-called efficiency of teaching is important for the school. Nobody thinks about educating and, anyway, this is not really possible in these conditions. More and more often clerk-types come to school as teachers and not genuine educators. Independent thinking is, according to these people, the greatest sin of the learner. The learners respond to this by conformist behavior. It is then difficult to find common language with them. I felt terrible in this atmosphere. And probably not only I felt like that. Note how few people are willing to teach. The deficit of teachers grows every year. This is really not happening without a cause."

"And why did you not throw this light of education away altogether?"

"This is a different matter. Mathematics is a profession for life, you know. It is not easy to get a job elsewhere after finishing the university. There is little choice, and one has to live on something. When I had been working at school, both Krzysztof and I had been trying to make our way. We had no property, in particular, we had no apartment. We rented one, paying a lot for it. Current expenses cost a lot, too, and apart from this we always tried to save something for the future. Really, I had to work and having no choice, I suffered in my school."

An accidental meeting with a friend from her university days caused Malgorzata--persuaded by him--to transfer to the Elektronik Experimental Research Plant. She got a position there which paid better than the school and she was enrolled in an information science program. The most important thing was, however, that the work promised to be more interesting. Unfortunately, it only promised to be so.

"Coming to that Elektronik, I felt like falling from the frying pan into the fire. It turned out that this interesting work consisted in simulating work. Every day for 8 hours. Maybe I am exaggerating, but not too much."

one could go crazy with boredom. You cannot imagine how tiring it is not to do anything for a whole working day. Like school children, we played the game of sea battle to kill time. And the funniest or, rather, the most tragic thing was that we would receive bonuses. For the experimental and research activity flourished in spite of everything, naturally, carried out only in the quarterly reports for the corporation. Absolute paranoia. Sometimes in the evening I wondered with Krzysztof, who also found himself in uninteresting enterprises, if it was only we having such bad luck, or whether there was such sewage everywhere. Consultations with friends convinced us that the latter was true. In 1980 people were found who said it aloud. But it was too late then."

One day Malgorzata and Krzysztof made a balance for themselves. They found out that despite being 30 they were still not independent, that their work did not satisfy them and, finally, that they had no prospects, unless they considered chances of getting a cooperative apartment in 15 years as such. And they made the decision. Malgorzata would continue getting bored at Elektronik for another year and Krzysztof would accept his uncle's (owner of a big farm) invitation to the PGC. He would work there for a year or so, bring some money back and then they would try to find some job that would give them both satisfaction and prospects.

Krzysztof had been continually invited by his uncle since he had completed his studies. There had been talk of permanent residence. But Krzysztof kept refusing, maintaining that he did not like the role of a gastarbeiter. Why did he change his mind after several years? In order to understand this we have to get better acquainted with his post-university story.

Krzysztof: "Of all things, I feel strongest about the lack of prospects."

To this day he associates the studies of sanitary engineering with athletics. Sanitary engineering is the most neglected department of the Gliwice Technical University. Since its creation it has been a homeless department, shifted to various ad hoc accommodations, located under different addresses. Since the program of studies is full, the students have to act as medium distance runners. Krzysztof completed his studies 11 years ago. Not much has changed since those times. The status of sanitary engineering is for Krzysztof the symbol of the discord between what is said about the protection of the environment in our country and what is being done in this field. After all, sanitary engineering deals extensively with ecological problems, and what of it? Instead of helping the department, things are constantly made difficult for it.

Krzysztof was able to see the evidence of this discord between theory and practice while working in the Water and Sewage Treatment Plant in Zabrze, where he found himself with his fresh diploma. The sewage treatment plant there was nearly 60 years old. It had still been effective 30 years before. Old workers used to tell Krzysztof that in the past--not only in Zabrze--after the water had been treated one would pour some in a glass and drink it. Nobody would be so brave today. The water is cleaned by verbal guarantees, according to the method "We have agreed that this water is clean."

Krzysztof maintains that he is not capable of working on something that has no sense or is a half measure at best for a prolonged period of time. In this situation he decided to leave the plant, although he did not feel bad over there. On leaving he told the manager that he would return when idle pouring of water back and forth ends and genuine treatment begins. As it was, he could not afford the diploma and the time.

After the water treatment plant Krzysztof found himself in a steel mill in Sz., in a recently created department of environmental protection. The local papers wrote much about it, presenting the steel mill in Sz. as an example of a "rational solution of the conflict between industry and ecology." Krzysztof realized what was happening very quickly. The extensively advertised department of environmental protection was actually a smokescreen. In fact, Krzysztof and two of his colleagues from the department were to work out ways of hiding the real scale of emissions of various pollutions. There was a constant lack of means for non-fictional environmental protection. "There are more important priorities, you know." And priorities settled the matter. But not for Krzysztof. He told those responsible what he thought about such practices. Since nobody seemed to bother about it, he wrote a letter to the local press. The letter was not published, but Krzysztof was given the label of a rebel, informer and black sheep in general in the steel mill. During a conversation "on the carpet" the manager openly told him that he would fire him under any pretext. Krzysztof answered that he would make it easy for him and that he would stay in the mill, if only to see all the things that were going on there.

A struggle began in which--it is easy to guess--the argument of force prevailed over the force of the arguments. When he could not find another pretext to fire Krzysztof, an outstanding employee, the manager dissolved the department of environmental protection on 30 March 1976. The justification was that it had been only an experiment which, indeed, had proved successful, but further details had to be worked out. In this way the manager achieved his goal--Krzysztof was fired. Krzysztof had intended to get superior authorities interested in it, but firstly, he did not really believe that it would change anything and, secondly, June of 1976 came and other things became important....

"After these experiences I had more than enough of working in environmental protection," he recalls. "I decided to take advantage of the fact that I had completed a technical high school in the field of construction industry and get employed as a construction engineer. I found a job in the Gliwice Industrial Construction Enterprise. I could not even complain about the job. I met nice and sensible people. This did not change the fact that, similarly to Malgorzata, I was continuously living under stress. This was deepened by a conversation I had with Mr Miecio, a foreman in my brigade. This was just a conversation, but I admit that it stuck like a thorn in my memory. Mr Miecio was over 50, had 3 children, felt comfortable and had a common sense attitude toward reality. He had always repeated: 'I had not completed universities, but I had had a difficult life and that was more than all universities.' And one day Mr Miecio and I started talking after work, on the way home. He then told me more or less this: 'Engineer, tell

me honestly, why did you push for university education? I know, you were impressed by the title, you counted on more money, didn't you? Well, Mr Krzysztof, you were deceived in the worst possible way. As for myself, I sent my eldest son to a vocational school so that he learned car repair. When he had wanted to go to technical high school I told him: not a step further. Not that I am against education, not at all, but does it pay to complete schools here? You can see by your own example that it does not. And take my Kazik. He is repairing cars now. Do you know how much he earns monthly? Three times as much as you, if you do not count the side jobs. Indeed, he bought himself an apartment, a small Fiat, he can afford a wife and two kids. When he puts on his wedding suit on Sunday he looks like a gentleman, like a manager. He is the same age as you are. And now think of yourself, what do you have? When you finally get something, you will be close to retirement age. No, Mr Krzysztof, I am surprised that such a fine fellow as you let himself be deceived into studying."

Krzysztof admits that Mr Miecio's reasoning is of the "common sense" type, in which the aspect of profits is decisive and that he had made a number of generalizations, but he remembered this conversation well. A stranger told him aloud what he did not have the guts even to think about.

"I found that all the enthusiasm burned out in me, the will to change the world. I became an embittered, apathetic fellow. I cannot help it--of all things, I feel strongest about the lack of prospects. It is the same with Malgorzata."

This helped them make a decision. They would go into private initiative. It will probably be a betrayal of some ideals. Some will evaluate it as a race for money, interest in smaller things. They decided that they would ask all those criticizing them: "What would you do in our place, man?"

Malgorzata and Krzysztof: "Don't ask stupid questions, will you?"

Krzysztof stayed in the FRG for exactly 13 months. He came back in a second-hand Volkswagen and with a substantial sum of Deutschmarks: the uncle was very generous. When he returned Malgorzata immediately quit her job at Elektronik. They began to look for something appropriate for them. For starters they chose a vegetable and fruit store. They even bought it cheaply, considering its good location and the income it brings. They are not excluding the possibility of changing to something else in the future. But they do not intend to go back to "state employment." They opened the store in February of 1980. After August they wanted to do something, but pessimism prevailed. They did not really believe that the post-August relations would stay for a longer period of time.

In the meantime they bought a nice three-room apartment and furnished it. This was important for them. Now they have a home, they will be able to have children and secure a good living standard. Recently they employed an assistant in the store. Malgorzata is pregnant and cannot work too hard. And there is a lot of work, from morning until evening. But they do not

complain. Finally, they are free and easy. It is a stupid thing: it was necessary to go into the vegetable business to feel like this. They are not bound by any plans and priorities now, they do not have to write false reports, or pretend anything, they do not have stupid managers from the nomenklatura above them, etc.

"In short, we work normally," they say.

I asked them if the more and more universal flight of people with higher education from their professions was right. There are situations in which a mathematician sells apples, a historian grows flowers, an economist has a matrimonial agency and a lawyer a workshop producing metal jewelry. This is a terrible waste, logic turned upside down. What do you say to this?

Their answer is: "Listen, man, do not ask stupid questions, will you?"

12417

CSO: 2600/143

AUTHOR CRITICIZES RAPID URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 18 Oct 83 pp 3, 4

[Article by Hieronim Bielecki: "Squaring the Circle?"]

[Text] Entangled in the difficult daily struggle with the crisis, we forget that each economic decision interferes with the environment in which we live and that economic plans ought to be assessed from the point of view of ecology, among other things. Had this condition been met, there would probably have been less air, soil and forest pollution and much greater attention would have been paid to the proper management of space; housing would have been developed in a less monotonous fashion; esthetics and the harmony of space would have been factors considered in the formation of large urban agglomerations, medium and small towns, and rural areas.

Therefore, in my opinion, we must forget the already anachronistic question: "How do we protect the human environment?" This attitude is defensive and outdated. In the present situation we must move to the offensive. It no longer suffices to defend ourselves, we must attack. We must start asking the question "How do we shape the environment?" much more energetically than we have been asking thus far.

The shaping of the environment means the shaping of the whole space surrounding man. The method of organizing it is of fundamental importance for man's health, sense of being, economic activities, productivity, and attitude toward other people. The environment affects each of us very strongly, forming our psyche and influencing our physical development. Unfortunately, these issues are underestimated in our country, resulting in an environmental disarray which has a very negative impact on the average citizen of the PRL [Polish People's Republic]--although we are usually unconscious of this impact.

In the 1960's it was announced that the economic plan for the years 1971-1975, for the first time in the history of People's Poland, would be based on a complex project of environmental management of the country. The propaganda of success in the 1970's tried to prove that economic planning was

developing in full harmony with the principles of shaping the environment. In reality, the economic practice of the time was in drastic opposition to the ideals of environmental planners, town planners and architects; their opinions were not being taken into consideration at all.

Have there been any significant changes for the better after 1980 in this field? As a result of the economic crisis, it is very difficult to meet the long-term biological, esthetic and social needs of PRL citizens. Ecologists, psychologists, sociologists, physicians and architects warn against "shabbiness" in environmental planning, carelessness with regard to future dangers and immediate, "statistical" evaluations of the apparent successes (or failures) of the country's daily economic life.

The shaping of the environment means above all counteracting spontaneity, a struggle against unrestrained urbanization, for example.

A New Phase of Urbanization

Social changes after World War II, large-scale resettlements and intensive industrialization, resulted in massive migration from the countryside to the cities. Later, structural changes began to dominate, expressed by employment outside of farming without changing one's place of residence. Currently we are entering the phase of the depletion of manpower reserves in the countryside. Urban migration, mainly from smaller to larger cities, is becoming the main element of migration movements taking place before our eyes.

It is no longer the striving for higher income that motivates this migration but, to an increasing degree, the desire for better conditions and life in a more attractive environment. Town planners warn, however, that there is an urgent need to slow down the growth of large cities.

Theoretically speaking, urban planning has been taking this extremely important need into consideration for a long time. Already over a dozen years ago it was urged that mechanisms be created which would counteract the creation of large numbers of jobs in urban agglomerations because they lead to large increases in the operational costs of these agglomerations. Among other [cost intensive] factors are longer commuting distances and the amount of time needed for commuting. A dangerous deterioration of ecologic conditions is another result. This in turn will cause excessive outflow of people from the agglomerations (particularly from their centers), which is very costly in both economic and social terms. Very costly deglomeration projects and the necessity to implement very costly programs of rehabilitation and reconstruction of the agglomerations are connected with it.

In the 1950's, the programs of urban development were subordinated to the development of industry, leading to strong concentrations of population in larger conglomerations at the cost of the development of small and medium-size towns. The 1960's brought mainly the development of medium-size towns, and the development of towns with a population of over 200,000 was halted.

In the 1970's, however, the trend to localize industrial investments mainly in large cities and agglomerations returned. Environmental planning drastically excluded the proposals that the growth of large cities be moderated by limiting the number of new jobs created there. This phase of urbanization growth continues.

The Power of Inertia

Errors in environmental economies and planning of space are easily committed but very difficult to correct; sometimes it cannot be done at all. The deeper the crisis, the more difficult it is to correct errors because of, among other things, the lack of possibilities for financing the extremely costly restructuring of the settlement network. Precisely now we find ourselves in a situation in which there is a near paralysis with regard to controlling the development of cities. Overcoming the crisis is connected with the utmost utilization of the existing reserves and counteracting their financial exploitation.

In such conditions things happen because of inertia: cities with a greater potential for industry and population and cities with a better system of transportation grow faster. Can this natural trend toward concentration of population and jobs be halted? For the duration of the crisis, even if great efforts to counteract that trend were made, we can expect relatively small effects. But once the crisis is over, will we, as a country, remember this extremely important problem? or will we take the easiest course again? Of course, overcoming the crisis is the first priority. But when will this happen? In just a few years? There are many questions and no easy answers.

How To Activate Small and Medium-Size Towns

Taking into consideration the human environment and the costs of the technical infrastructure, we ought to limit the growth of cities of over 200-250,000 residents to the bare minimum. The real issue is small conglomerations whose population could surpass the above numbers. We ought to aim at limiting the number of the largest cities to those which are already in this category.

On the other hand, it is a fact that, relatively speaking, the best conditions for shaping the environment can be found in medium-size cities with a population of 50-200,000 residents. Only when the borderline between a small and a medium-size city is crossed do we have the possibility for developing a full range of services and creating efficient assemblies of communal facilities.

There is an urgent need to reinvigorate the functions of small and medium-size towns. Particularly important is the proper servicing of agriculture and the development of small industries. The smallest cities, below 10,000 inhabitants, must be considered one of the basic problems of the food economy. They urgently need the development of services (construction,

locksmith, blacksmith and others) and the processing of agricultural products. It is worth recalling that the majority of the smallest towns are in the north and west of the country.

The groups of towns with 20,50,000 residents ought to be included among the greatest investment priorities. In the first of these groups, the emphasis ought to be placed on growth (of industry and work places), in the second, on development (infrastructure, services, environmental protection). Moreover, we must diminish the tensions connected with the growth of towns with 10-100,000 residents.

How do we vitalize small and medium-size cities? The policy of housing development and the methods of distributing cooperative apartments must be changed (for example, by promoting the transfer of housing cooperative shares from one town to another). We must change radically the procedure for basing priorities of distributing investments on the final effects of the utilization of resources. We ought to keep in mind that economic decisions aimed at immediate effects, in the final outcome, usually bring greater losses than advantages. During the nearly 40-year period of the existence of People's Poland, too many economic decisions were aimed at immediate rather than long-term goals. The sum of these immediate goals as a result was a bad settlement network and neglect of large cities, pushing many cities to the edge of ecological disaster, while at the same time the smallest conglomerations lacked the factors needed for urban development. We must also come to the realization of the basic difference between the notions of growth and development. Growth is increasing the number of jobs. Development is meeting the needs with regard to shaping the human environment.

Our small and medium-size cities need both growth and development. However, as we approach the borderline of 200,000 residents, growth factors must be promoted less. In large cities with populations of 200-250,000, they ought to be eliminated altogether. This is a task "for yesterday."

Slowing the population decline of small towns and the growth of large cities, and emphasizing the development and growth (within certain limits) of towns of excessive growth, particularly large ones at the cost of their development [sentence as published]. We must discard without delay the environmental policies of the 1950's and 1970's!

It will not be easy. The growth factors of many towns in which growth is undesirable were "invested" in those towns during the periods of errors and distortions. On the other hand, the restructuring of the settlement network, although badly needed, faces obstacles in the real need of utilizing these growth factors, which, after all, have been put to little use.

What should be done? The above contradiction shows that we are dealing with a vicious circle, or perhaps with the squaring of the circle.

I believe that if we were able to make an effort and find the great energy necessary for a speedy rebuilding of the country after the destruction of

World War II, we should be able to make a national effort by the end of the 20th century for the purpose of rebuilding the functions of small and medium-size towns.

Excessive urbanization and unrestrained preference for large cities and agglomerations have proven to be pernicious. They are leading to an ecological disaster. We must, therefore, begin to screen each proposed economic initiative from the point of view of shaping a proper environment for the citizens of the Polish People's Republic.

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CS 2600/127

VISIT OF MAURITANIAN PRESIDENT

Further on Ceausescu-Haydala Talks

AU181737 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1624 GMT 18 Nov 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRESS, 18/11/1983--The official talks between Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mohamed Khouma Ould Haydala, chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation, president of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, continued in Bucharest on November 18.

The second round of talks focused on major international questions.

Both sides expressed deep concern over the serious tension in international relations, which is a direct outcome of the escalation of the arms race, nuclear in particular, of the policy of the use and threat of force and interference in domestic affairs, of the maintenance of strong hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world and the emergence of new ones, of the continuous widening of the gaps between rich and poor countries. During the talks, the need was highlighted for all peoples and progressive forces everywhere to rally their efforts and cooperate ever more closely to prevent the deterioration of the international situation and promote a policy of disarmament, detente, collaboration and peace.

Special emphasis was placed on the serious danger posed to world peace by the deployment of the new medium-range missiles in Europe and it was shown that the will of the public opinion, of the peoples--which do not want nuclear weapons and which, in great demonstrations and mass actions, declare firmly for disarmament and peace--should be taken into account.

The talks also concentrated on questions related to the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order. It was considered that everything possible should be done for the promotion of economic relations grounded on full equality and equity, which should provide for the faster progress of all countries, of the backward countries in the first place, and facilitate all peoples' broad access to the achievements of advanced science and technology. At the same time, the special importance was brought to the fore of the continuous development of the cooperation among the developing countries, the strengthening of their

solidarity and unity of action, through the calling of a summit of those countries included.

Extensive opinions were also exchanged on the complex problems of concern to the African continent. The role was highlighted incumbent on the Organization of African Unity in the strengthening of collaboration and solidarity among the countries on that continent, in the peaceful settlement of the litigious issues between some of those states, in the attainment of the African peoples' aspirations after progress, welfare, free and independent development. As for Namibia, the militant solidarity and firm support of Romania and Mauritania were reiterated to the just fight of that people, under the leadership of SWAPO--its sole representatives--for freedom and independence, for the abolition of the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid from Africa.

Referring to the states of conflict in various parts of the globe, in Africa included, the two sides highlighted the need for their settlement through negotiations and talks alone, military solutions and armed confrontations being avoided. The importance was stressed of intensified efforts for the establishment of a global, just and durable peace in the Middle East on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied in the wake of the 1967 war, the recognition of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights to self-determination, inclusive of the setting up of an independent state of its own, the ensurance and guaranteeing of the security, free and independent development of all the states in the area. Stress was also laid on the importance of Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon, of the observance of Lebanon's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, of the achievement of a broad national reconciliation of the political and social forces in that country so that the Lebanese people could solve its problems by itself.

The importance was also highlighted of a rapid cessation of the war between Iran and Iraq and the achievement of a passage to the negotiated settlement of existing issues so that relations of good-neighbourliness and friendship should be reestablished between the two peoples, in their mutual interest, in the interest of the cause of peace, understanding, stability in the area and the world over.

The talks highlighted the convergence of the two countries' viewpoints on most of the questions approached, and more particularly on the need to enhance the role of the UN, of the small and medium-sized countries, of the developing and non-aligned countries in debating and solving current international problems. The determination of Romania and Mauritania was reiterated to strengthen their cooperation on an international plane and make an active contribution to the just and democratic settlement of the major international issues, to the promotion of peace, security and cooperation throughout the world.

The talks between the two heads of state pass in a cordial atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

Ceausescu, Haydala Discuss Economic Ties

AU182055 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2006 GMT 18 Nov 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/11/1983--During their third round of talks, which took place in the afternoon of November 18, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Lieutenant-Colonel Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala further examined important aspects of the development and deepening of the relations between Romania and Mauritania.

Special attention was paid to questions related to the diversification of economic relations. The members of the two delegations informed Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala of the conclusions of the working meetings, on the understanding reached during the talks conducted in Bucharest these days. In the spirit of the recommendations and guidelines set at top level in view is the initiation of new collaboration and cooperation ventures in fishing, hydraulics, agriculture, the food industry, mining, farm machinery, ship building and repairs, transport and telecommunications. At the same time, the wish was expressed to promote actions of cooperation and cooperation in science and technology, as well as in medical assistance.

The two presidents expressed appreciation of the results scored during the working meetings between the members of the Romanian and Mauritanian delegations. At the same time, it was recommended that the relevant bodies should further study concrete and efficient ways and modalities of expanding and diversifying the Romanian-Mauritanian cooperation of mutually advantageous bases of full equality. On this occasion too, the determination of Romania and Mauritania was reiterated to steadily develop bilateral links meant to serve the two peoples' interests in progress and prosperity, the cause of peace, understanding and international collaboration.

The talks proceed in a cordial atmosphere of mutual esteem and understanding.

Visit to 'Electronica' Enterprise

AU182105 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1950 GMT 18 Nov 83

[Excerpts] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/11/1983--On Friday, November 18, the chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation and head of state of Mauritania, Lieutenant-Colonel Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala, paid a visit to the "Electronica" enterprise in Bucharest.

The guest was accompanied by Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of Romania.

The visit offered him the opportunity to get acquainted with the achievements scored by that collectivity, with the highly technical and qualitative level of the products manufactured in this representative unit of the Romanian electronic industry.

The same day in the morning, Lieutenant-Colonel Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala laid a floral wreath at the Memorial of the Heroes of the Struggle for the Liberty of the People and of the Homeland, for Socialism.

On Friday in the afternoon, Lieutenant-Colonel Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala, chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation, president of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, received the heads of diplomatic missions and representatives of international organizations accredited to Romania, with whom he conversed in a cordial atmosphere.

Visit to Baneasa Enterprise

AU192025 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1851 GMT 19 Nov 83

[Excerpt] Bucharest AGERPRES 19/11/1983--On Saturday, November 19, in the morning, Lieutenant-Colonel Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala, chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation, president of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, visited the Institute for Research, Design and Technological Engineering for the Mechanization of Agriculture in Baneasa, near Bucharest.

The Mauritanian people's distinguished messenger was accompanied by Ion Avram, Romanian minister of machine-building industry.

Pungan, Mauritanian Sign Documents

AU191914 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1845 GMT 19 Nov 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 19/11/1983--Vasile Pungan, Romanian minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation and Anne Amadou Babaly, member of the Military Committee for National Salvation, minister of industry and mines, signed in Bucharest the rules of organization and operation of the Joint Romanian-Mauritanian Governmental Commission on Economic and Technical Cooperation.

Ceausescu, Haydala End Talks

AU191913 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 19 Nov 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 19/11/1983--President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania met again on Saturday morning Lieutenant-Colonel Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala, chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation, head of state of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

The two presidents expressed their satisfaction at the understandings reached during the visit, the confidence that the exchange of views and the documents agreed on the occasion accorded with the interests of the Romanian and Mauritanian peoples, with the cause of international peace, progress and cooperation.

President Nicolae Ceausescu requested that the Mauritanian people be conveyed the feelings of friendship and solidarity of the Romanian people, wishes of fresh successes on the path to their free and independent socio-economic development.

President Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala expressed once more the keenest thanks for the hospitality extended to the Mauritanian delegation during the Romanian visit, for the very warm reception, and for the spirit of understanding and fraternal solidarity that prevailed during the summit talks.

The two presidents considered, that, by its results the visit was an important moment in the continued development of the Romanian-Mauritanian collaboration on a bilateral plane and in international life.

CSO: 2020/33

VISIT OF PRIME MINISTER DASCALESCU TO PRC

Meets Deng Xiaoping in Beijing

AU232053 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2031 GMT 23 Nov 83

[Text] Beijing, 23 Nov (AGERPRES)--Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, Romanian prime minister had an interview with Deng Xiaoping, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, chairman of the Central Consultative Commission of the Chinese Communist Party, chairman of the Central Military Commission of the People's Republic of China and of the Military Commission of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party. The interview occasioned an exchange of friendly salutes between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania and Deng Xiapiong.

During the talk, stress was laid with satisfaction on the growing course of the traditional relations of friendship and close collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples. Emphasis was placed on the decisive role played by the meetings and decisions made during the summit dialogues in Bucharest and Beijing in the development and strengthening of the Romanian-Chinese relations. The resolve of the RCP and of the Chinese Communist Party was expressed to further work for the development of the relations of collaboration on multiple planes to mutual benefit, in the interests of the general cause of socialism, peace, independence and international cooperation.

During the talk mutual information was made about the progress of socialist construction in the two countries. It was emphasized on the occasion that the further development of the economic collaboration was a factor of outstanding importance in the amplification of the relations between the two parties, countries and peoples. Emphasis was placed on the fact that the economic, technological and scientific potential, the possibilities, necessities and resources of the two countries' developing and modernizing economies ensured the attainment of that target. In that context, the parties' will was expressed to give a still more powerful impetus to the economic collaboration on multiple planes, to mutual benefit, through actions that should start yielding fruits already in 1984. Reiterated was also the confidence that the intensification of the economic collaboration offered advantages to both national economies, and the possibility of cushioning more the negative impact of the current international conjuncture.

At the same time, they made a comprehensive exchange of views on international problems of mutual interest which emphasized powerfully the identity or similarity of the two countries' standpoints.

Deng Xiaoping stressed the untiring activity and valuable peace initiatives on Nicolae Ceausescu in promoting detente, for the elimination of the danger of nuclear war on earth and for security in the world. Stress was laid on the fruitful and close collaboration between the two countries, in the international political life, and on the mutual will to intensify further the collaboration in all major issues of international life.

In conclusion the belief was expressed that everything has to be done for developing and amplifying the friendship, solidarity and collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples.

The interview proceeded in a warm atmosphere of friendship and cordiality.

On Wednesday afternoon Constantin Dascalescu arrived in Shanghai, accompanied by Jiang Zemin, minister of the electronics industry, Qian Qiches [spelling as received], deputy foreign minister and by other Chinese officials. On arriving the Romanian prime minister was welcomed by Wang Daohan [spelling as received], mayor of Shanghai.

In this large metropolitan city he visited the TV factory No 1, the harbor and the shipyard.

In Shanghai Constantin Dascalescu had an interview with Mayor Wang Daohan, and other members of local party and state leadership.

Bilateral Collaboration Stressed

AU242030 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1952 GMT 24 Nov 83

[Text] Beijing, 24 Nov (AGERPRES)—The official visit of friendship by Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu to the People's Republic of China continued on November 24 with a work program in Shanghai Municipality. He visited the "Zinshan" [spelling as received] petrochemical combine. During the visit, emphasis was placed on the possibilities to expand collaboration and cooperation in production between Romania and China. It was considered that the deepening of the mutually advantageous bilateral collaboration served the interests of socialist construction in the two countries and contributed to increasing the welfare of the Romanian and Chinese peoples.

The same afternoon Constantin Dascalescu left Shanghai Municipality.

Enroute to Beijing he stopped over in Nanjing, where he visited socioeconomic and cultural units.

The same evening, the Ministry of Culture of the People's Republic of China arranged a gala show in Beijing in honor of Constantin Dascalescu.

CSO: 2020/35

YOUTH PEACE RALLY MESSAGES TO CEAUSESCU, DE CUELLAR

Ceausescu's Peace Efforts Hailed

AU122059 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1319 GMT 12 Nov 83

["Message Addressed to the RCP and Romanian State Leader by the Participants in the Meeting 'Romania's Youth Want Peace'"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 12 Nov 83--In this document, the participants in the great peace meeting of the youth, students and children of Romania express, on behalf of the young generation of socialist Romania, their enthusiastic adhesion to the RCP and Romanian state leaders--initiatives and actions for the safeguarding of the most precious right of human beings, of peoples--the right to life, to freedom. Expressing deep gratitude for the active, dynamic and constructive policy of peace, understanding and collaboration with all nations which you promote consistently and in a high-principled manner, the message shows, the young generation in Romania is inspired by the firm conviction that this serves, to the greatest extent, the vital interests and requirements of the Romanian people, of all peoples to live sheltered from the threat of a devastating nuclear conflagration, to place their energies in the service of the cause of progress, civilization and the building of a better and happier future on our planet.

The young generation of socialist Romania has the privilege to be born, to enjoy and take the first steps in life in a country which is master of its destiny, and in which each year has meant a steady, impetuous advance along the coordinates of peaceful work and creation, of the multilateral flourishing of the homeland, on the road of socialism and communism.

The document shows that President Nicolae Ceausescu's appeals for the adoption of concrete actions of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament in the first place, the continuation and consolidation of the process of detente, security, collaboration and peace, the prevention of the deployment of new medium-range missiles in Europe, the withdrawal and destruction of the ones in place, have reverberated strongly on an international plane, once again proving the realistic and constructive character of the Romanian foreign policy.

Of late, the peoples' quiet and peace have been threatened ever more by the stepped-up escalation of the arms race, of nuclear arming in particular, the message shows highlighting that in the face of this extremely difficult situation, which jeopardizes the further existence of human civilization, the Romanian head of state's tireless actions for disarmament and peace prove ever more poignantly their topical character and their particular importance for saving mankind, the young generation from the horrors of a nuclear disaster.

The youth of our homeland firmly reject the plans aimed at throwing mankind in a new war and say a resolute no to the emplacement of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, declaring for the withdrawal and scrapping of the ones in place, for the cessation of the arms race, for the achievement of an undelayed passage to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament in the first place, the message reads also expressing the determination of the young generation in Romania to further militate for the elimination of war, for disarmament, to work consistently for the building of a peaceful world of independence, collaboration and progress.

In the spirit of the resolutions of the 12th Congress and of the National Conference of the RCP, of the mobilizing calls and appeals you addressed to us, we the youth, students and children of our homeland--Romanians, Magyars, Germans and other nationalities--assure you that we will learn and work steadily so as to become the builders of socialism and communism in Romania.

The Union of Communist Youth [UCY], the Union of Communist Students' Associations of Romania and the Young Pioneers' organization will do their utmost to rally the revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces of the young generation everywhere in the fight for halting the arms race, for disarmament and peace, for a better and more just world on our planet, the message shows in conclusion.

More Activity by UN Urged

AU122118 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1327 GMT 12 Nov 83

["Letter to the United Nations Secretary-General"--AGERPRES headline, adopted by the Youth Peace Rally in Bucharest, on 12 November]

[Text] Bucharest, 12 Nov (AGERPRES)--Dear Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar

We would like you to circulate to the current UN General Assembly's session the text of this letter adopted by representatives of over six million young people--workers, farmers, intellectuals, students and children in the Socialist Republic of Romania--gathered in a mass demonstration to state their wish to live in peace and security, a wish that the whole Romanian youth shares, which is a passionate appeal to the United Nations to make greater than ever efforts to stop the arms race, avert the danger of another devastating world war, guarantee peace in Europe and the world.

We believe the United Nations whose major aim under its Charter is "To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" should work more actively and contribute more efficiently to the maintenance of international peace and security so as to meet its fundamental aims and targets.

Young people in Socialist Romania are concerned for the future of our planet. Never in history was the world's military burden heavier, never were its weapons more sophisticated or the threat of complete destruction greater.

We young people would not like to be the last survivors of this planet. We know the cardinal issue of our time is disarmament, nuclear disarmament first of all, the prevention of war and the maintenance of peace. We know there are solutions to it, we know many sections of the population, young and old, men and women, world personalities, the peoples of the globe demand and propose them. It is high time that their voice be heard and heeded.

We fully back Romania's position, President Nicolae Ceausescu's ideas, assessments and proposals concerning disarmament, the maintenance of peace, international detente and cooperation submitted to the current session of the UN General Assembly and contained also in the letters to the chairman of the Presidium of the USSR's Supreme Soviet Yuriy Andropov and to the President of the U.S., Ronald Reagan. We demand that everything possible be done to prevent deployment of new missiles in Europe, that action be taken to withdraw and destroy the ones in place so that Europe may not turn into a nuclear torch. We support the proposals that an international body be set up within the United Nations to inspect and verify compliance with the arms build-down and disarmament measures, as well as the proposal that a special good offices, mediation and conciliation body be created to prevent further armed confrontations and help the peaceful, negotiated settlement of any interstate dispute.

We express satisfaction for the interest that the United Nations takes in the young generation which shows in the 1985 observance of the International Youth Year under the theme participation, development, peace and would like this generous initiative to be a real and tangible proof of the care for the youth, for its future.

It is time that the United Nations should really become a rostrum of the nations' will of peace, a place where the voice of reason prevails. As far as we young people in Romania are concerned, along with the young people across the world, with all people of good faith, all peoples, we want to state our willingness to live in peace and understanding with all nations.

Young people in Socialist Romania, deeply committed to the country's economic and social development, for the happiness and welfare of the Romanian people firmly call on the 38th Session of the United Nations General Assembly to adopt concrete measures and resolutions so that the fundamental human right--the right to life--be guaranteed, observed and safeguarded.

The participants in the meeting "Romania's Youth Want Peace", Bucharest, November 12, 1983.

CSO: 2020/34

SCINTEIA VERSION OF PACT PARLIAMENTS' APPEAL

AU141517 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 12 Nov 83 p 6

["Appeal to the Parliaments of the States That Attended the CSCE"]

[Text] We, representatives of supreme legislative bodies of the Warsaw Pact member states--the People's Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Federal Assembly of the CSSR, the People's Chamber of the GDR, the Sejm of the People's Republic of Poland, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the State Assembly of the People's Republic of Hungary, and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR--gathered in Sofia to discuss certain topical international issues, concerning particularly the dangerous situation on the European continent, believe that it is our duty, expressing the will of our peoples, to address the following message to the parliaments of the states that attended the CSCE.

The problem of whether Europe will follow the path of reducing nuclear arsenals or that of further massively increasing armaments is being decided at this critical moment. Deployment in the near future of new U.S. nuclear missiles on European soil, for which preparations are underway, will constitute, should it come to pass, a hostile step against peace.

We believe that the most important and urgent task of Europeans and of all people of goodwill is to prevent such a dangerous development, which will further and even more seriously increase tension and the threat of nuclear catastrophe. It is in their interests not to allow the territory of West European countries to be turned into launching pads for U.S. nuclear missile weapons pointed at socialist countries, to remove the nuclear danger from Europe, and to consolidate security on our continent and throughout the world.

The purpose and sense of the line consistently promoted by the socialist countries in the problem of nuclear arms limitation and reduction in Europe is to achieve an agreement. They are advocating a radical solution: complete elimination of nuclear weapons from Europe, both medium-range and tactical. If implemented, this proposal, advanced by the Soviet Union at the Geneva negotiations, will fully meet the basic interests of the European peoples and the objectives of strengthening general peace and international stability and cooperation.

More acute now than ever before is the problem of arriving as soon as possible at a mutually acceptable agreement at the negotiations, which should not be limited by an arbitrarily decided deadline, an agreement cancelling the deployment in Europe of new intermediate-range nuclear missiles and providing for radical cuts in the existing medium-range nuclear arms.

In order to halt the nuclear arms race, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have presented a number of important and bold initiatives aimed at achieving considerable and radical nuclear arms reductions on an honest and equitable basis and genuinely serving the security interests of each side, including the Soviet proposal to scrap all the missiles subject to reduction. These initiatives constitute a direct bridge to agreement.

Deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles on the European continent will jeopardize all the positive results obtained through collective efforts within the all-European process and prospects for further development recently established at the Madrid meeting.

Positively assessing the results of the Madrid meeting, we believe that it is now very important that all European states work to consolidate them. Taking into account the constructive results of the Fifth Interparliamentary Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, we advocate intensified cooperation among European parliaments.

We are convinced that agreement is still possible. All that is needed is for both sides to show political will and readiness to be consistently guided by the principle of equality and equal security, and to observe a single, indispensable requirement: the balance of force in Europe concerning intermediate-range nuclear weapons must not be violated. This balance must be preserved not through nuclear arms build-up, but by reducing them to the lowest possible level.

In solving this grave problem, the parliaments, taking into account the views of broad sections of the population, must make their contribution to removing the great danger threatening Europe and the entire world, more so since this problem is of a vital importance for each country, for all of Europe, and for all mankind.

On behalf of our countries' parliaments, we appeal to the parliaments of the states participating in the CSCE, whose voice must be heard, to make their contribution to achieving effective nuclear disarmament and to do everything in their power to secure for their peoples a future free of threat. Reason must triumph.

CSO: 2700/55

JOINT SESSION MEETS ON MISSILES, ENERGY

AU252104 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2040 GMT 25 Nov 83

[Text] Bucharest, 25 Nov (AGERPRES)--On November 25, under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, a joint meeting was held of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, the Council of State and the Government of Romania.

During the meeting the participants looked into the situation created in Europe by the grave events of the recent days, that have opened way to the intensification of nuclear arming, to enhancing the danger of an atomic war, and analyzed measures to be taken for providing halting of siting of new intermediate-range missiles, withdrawal and destruction of the existing ones, for removal of the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, for strengthening peace and security in the continent.

The Executive Political Committee, the State Council and the Romanian Government reiterated the resolve of the RCP, of Romania of the whole Romanian people to do everything possible, alongside other European peoples and states, to put an end to the ever more dangerous arms race, to give up emplacement of new missiles, to withdraw and scrap the ones in place, to resume as soon as possible the Soviet-American talks on the medium-range missiles, to come to an adequate agreement in this respect, to safeguard the most valuable asset of all people on earth--peace.

The Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, the State Council and the Government of Romania have endorsed in this respect a declaration that is to be released.

During the same meeting the Executive Political Committee, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania examined and endorsed a program of measures to provide the production of electric power and reduction of consumption with fuels and energy.

CSO: 2020/34

BRIEFS

EXHIBITION MARKS UNIFICATION ANNIVERSARY--Bucharest, 19 Nov (AGERPRES)--On Saturday, November 19, a national exhibition opened at Romania's history museum marking the anniversary of 65 years since the setting up of the Romanian unitary national state. The exhibition is part of the series of events arranged throughout the country in observance of this important movement in the history of the Romanian people. The opening ceremony was attended by Petru Enache, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council, by party and state activists, historians and other representatives of the Romanian scientific life, by a numerous public. [Excerpt] [AU192114 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2020 GMT 19 Nov 83]

PARTY OFFICIALS MEET FRENCH RPR DELEGATION--Bucharest, 24 Nov (AGERPRES)--Georghe Radulescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, and Miu Dobrescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, met on Thursday, 24 November, with a delegation of the French party, Rassemblement Pour la Republique (RPR), led by Jacques Kosciusko-Morizet, national secretary of the party. During the interview, mutual information was exchanged on the concerns of the two parties and satisfaction was expressed at the positive course of the relations between the Romanian Communist Party and the Party Rassemblement Pour la Republique, relations based on equality of rights, mutual esteem and respect. Stress was also laid on the fact that these relations made an important contribution to the development of the links on multiple planes between Romania and France, to the establishment of a climate of peace and security in Europe and the world over. During the interview aspects of the international life were also tackled. Concern was expressed over the dangerous course of nuclear armings which threatens people's vital right to existence, human civilization, life itself on our planet. The talk passed in a cordial, friendly atmosphere. [Text] [AU242126 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 24 Nov 83]

GREEK PARTY'S ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS--To Comrade Yannis Bannias, secretary of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party-Interior [KKE-INTERIOR] The 65th anniversary of the establishment of the KKE-INTERIOR affords me a pleasant opportunity to convey to you, to the Central Committee of the KKE-INTERIOR, and to all party members warm, comradely greetings and most sincere wishes for new successes in your efforts to fulfill the aspirations of the workers class and contribute to the struggle for peace, disarmament, security, detente, and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world. I want to take this opportunity to express my satisfaction with the ascending evolution of the relations of friendship and solidarity between the RCP and the KKE-INTERIOR, relations firmly anchored in the principles of equality and each party's right to independently map out its political line; I also want to express our desire to further develop these relations, in the interests of both our countries and peoples and of the general cause of socialism and peace in the world. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General [Text] [AU221313 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Nov 83 p 6]

CSO: 2700/55

BELOVSKI ON REGIONAL MEDIA, CONSTITUTION CHANGES

AU221536 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 83 p 6

[Lj. Zorkic report]

[Excerpts] At a session of the Commission for Information and Propaganda Activities of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Dimce Belovski, president of the commission, has submitted the opening report on the implementation of the conclusions on information activities. We are reporting the main points of his speech.

Clearly one of the significant reasons for the current situation in the public media is that the media and the journalists are increasing putting themselves in the service of partial, regional, and special interests, in the service of republican and provincial structures. Dimce Belovski supported his assessment with the following words:

"I wish it was not so, but as a rule all the media of a region are in unison when they view certain Yugoslav occurrences. There are hardly any exceptions, hardly anyone is swerving from the common line.

"Therefore," Belovski stressed, "I wish to be quite frank. Demanding responsibility from the communists in the press, we must not avoid demanding responsibility from the republic and provincial leaderships for a consistent implementation of the conclusions of the Sixth Session of the LCY Central Committee, and we must make the press, radio, and television as much as possible an instrument of this revolution and these efforts to master the difficulties we are now facing as a society and as a community.

"I would say something about the problem and about our attitude toward the strivings of the society and the community in the sphere of stabilization. It is not easy for all of us. It is not easy to be a member of the Central Committee now, especially a member of the Presidium, just as it is not easy to be chief editor of a newspaper.

"We have adopted the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization. It appears at first sight that we have accomplished the easier part of the job, although

we determined with the program, before society and the community, before the workers class and before the public, the aims and the ways that can lead us out of the existing difficulties.

"However, we are coming to the second stage of our job, we are coming to the so-called operationalization. We are coming to the formulation of the policy to implement the aims and tasks of the long-term program. And here we are meeting contradicting and even conflicting interests, and that is no secret. It is the most difficult part of the job that we must master, for without it we will not go forward. What is more, we may even jeopardize everything that we have historically achieved.

"We are talking about the need for a further historical break-through in the development of self-management. Some radicals appear who demand a thorough change in the political system, and they even take the liberty to impinge on and demand a change in the constitution. Instead of concerning ourselves with the chief question of our destiny, the formulation of the policy of implementing the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, various peripheral questions are imposed on us, in which the press helps a great deal, although it does not initiate them. We must solve these questions, but to allow them to become a dominant preoccupation at this present historical moment, would be to oppose directly our overall efforts to direct society and the community toward implementing the program of economic stabilization.

CSO: 2800/97

KUCAN REJECTS CENTRALISM IN AVNOJ ANNIVERSARY SPEECH

LD252134 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1829 GMT 24 Nov 83

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 24 Nov (TANJUG)--"No one has the right, in the quest for possible and necessary ways out of the difficulties, to question the fundamental principles and values by which our final decision about the way in which we want to live has been so clearly manifested. The anti-fascist council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ] has become the foundation and the content of our life after the war. We shall resolutely oppose everyone who might try, either outside our borders or in the country, to threaten the achievements of our national liberation struggle and the AVNOJ foundations of our life together." This was stressed by Milan Kucan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the celebrations in connection with the 40th anniversary of the second AVNOJ session at the Cankar Center in Ljubljana this evening.

Milan Kucan stressed that loyalty to AVNOJ ideas demands that we break without hesitation with all who believe that now, in these present difficulties, the time has come to question the foundations of equality in the federal multinational community.

"Workers and working people have borne all the strains of the liberation struggle; they have stubbornly persevered at all the crossroads of postwar construction; with their work and creativeness they have succeeded in accelerating the march of history. They have implemented and they do implement most consistently even the most difficult decisions adopted in our society. This is an expression of the deep trust in the guiding forces of our society which at the same time demands from them, in particular of the [word indistinct], to do more resolutely and without hesitation, in order that the constitutional principles on which our life is based be implemented more successfully and more speedily. This also applies to the principle that every people and every republic, as an independent and political instrument of the working class and working people and of the nations and nationalities living in it, disposes independently of its income, its surplus value, in line with the nature of the socioeconomic relations in the political system which is established by the federal constitution. Such relations are not merely a condition for the free development of people but also for their equitable and increasingly close cooperation and linking up, above all by associating their labor and income on the basis of self-managing equality which grows from the interest for better and richer material and cultural conditions of every people and every one of its members."

Milan Kucan stressed that this is the path of self-managing strengthening of the Yugoslav community. He added that the values and advantages of this system are incomparably greater than the political, pragmatic and voluntarist concepts of statist, unitarist or chauvinist kind which are separated from life and opposed to the interests of equitable life and free development of people. "As in international relations at home too we are opposed to any interference, restrictions on sovereignty and economic coercion, against imposition of cultural and any other will on individual people, which, on behalf of some kind of superior centralist interest, neglect the differences in the socioeconomic position of individual republics and provinces and thus negate their sovereign rights and identity of individual people. This of necessity leads to national inequality, to disputes and thus to the abolition of the democratic perspective of every nation and nationality of Yugoslavia."

Milan Kucan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, then pointed out that we know from our own past that difficulties are even greater when centralism and coercion in a multinational state exacerbate intranational relations. In such an exacerbated situation all kinds of nationalism and particularisms try to affirm themselves. Aspirations aimed at diverting from the democratic self-managing direction of development gain in strength. "Only the affirmation of the democratic and self-managing decisionmaking also in relations among peoples and among republics and provinces strengthens the unity and brotherhood of Yugoslav peoples on AVNOJ principles."

CSO: 2800/97

NIN ON YUGOSLAVIA'S RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS

AU180958 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1715, 13 Nov 83 p 47

[Dr Ranko Petkovic commentary]

[Excerpts] At a time when a new wave of nuclearization threatens to pound Europe in the Balkans efforts are being perceived with a view to transforming this part of Europe into a zone of peace and cooperation and without nuclear arms and the use of force in any shape or form. The visit of Mika Spiljak, president of the SRFY presidency, to Romania and of Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, to Greece, and the proposal made by the Yugoslav Government that a meeting of representatives of Balkan countries on economic cooperation be held in Belgrade in the middle of next year all testify of the existence of these efforts.

There is an impression in some political circles in the world that Yugoslavia has dealt and is dealing too little with its neighbors and that by joining in world policy--primarily through the Nonaligned Movement and Policy--it has separated from its smaller-scale Balkan region. One could not say this impression is true. Such a luxury could not be afforded by a country with seven neighbors.

In its Balkan policy, Yugoslavia has adopted this key attitude: there is a direct interaction between furthering bilateral relations and creating prerequisites for developing multilateral cooperation. This is the only way one can establish a peace zone without nuclear arms in the Balkans.

However, what is involved is not only the fact that the part of the world in which Yugoslavia is situated is an integral part of Europe in its entirety, nor the fact that it cannot be separated from events in the neighboring regions, primarily in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, but also the fact that most Yugoslav neighbors are members of military-political alliances which aspire to a global and strategic role in the international community.

Being riveted exclusively to the regional and subregional area would considerably narrow down the possibilities for the complete realization of vital national interests. By realizing its global political role in the Nonaligned Movement, Yugoslavia considerably contributes to strengthening its international, and also Balkan position, as well as to creating an assemblage in

the world which to a significant extent affects the situation in the area in which Yugoslavia is situated.

Interference of great powers into the relations between Balkan countries and submitting them to the interests of the great powers has led to serious aggravation of the situation in this region. The best example is the one time participation of some Balkan countries in the campaign the Cominform waged against Yugoslavia.

In the relations between neighboring countries in this part of the world there is no problem which cannot be solved, under the condition that the parties concerned exert maximum effort and good will.

The attitude towards national minorities is a touchstone for relations towards neighbors, the same as the constant furthering of good-neighborly relations is one of the significant factors in improving the position of national minorities. Proof of this can be found in relations between Yugoslavia and Austria.

Direct or indirect territorial pretensions and other forms of interference into internal affairs represent the greatest impediment in the development of good-neighborly relations and furthering the atmosphere of peace and friendship. Unfortunately, this statement could be confirmed by the attitudes and behavior of Albania in relation to the Kosovo events and by the Bulgarian denial of the existence of the Macedonian nation.

Yugoslavia has realized a high level of cooperation with most of its neighbors. Yugoslavia shows good will and constantly tries to further the cooperation even with those neighbors with whom relations are not what they could be on the basis of strict respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, and noninterference.

CSO: 2800/97

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

ENVOY TO LEBANON--Beirut, 25 Nov (TANJUG)--Amin al-Jumayyil, president of the Republic of Lebanon, has received Dragoslav Pejic, the newly-appointed SFRY ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Lebanon, who handed him his credentials. In lengthy friendly talks, which followed, they dealt with bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and Lebanon as well as with some international issues, in particular the situation in Lebanon and the Middle East crisis. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1517 GMT 25 Nov 83 LD]

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